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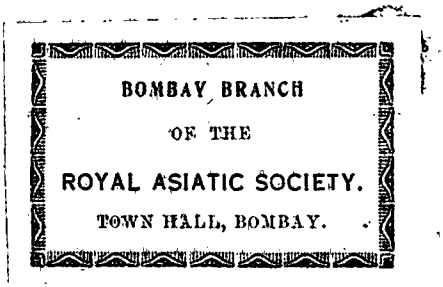

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LIVES

OF THE

QUEENS OF SCOTLAND,

&c.

BY

AGNES STRICKLAND.

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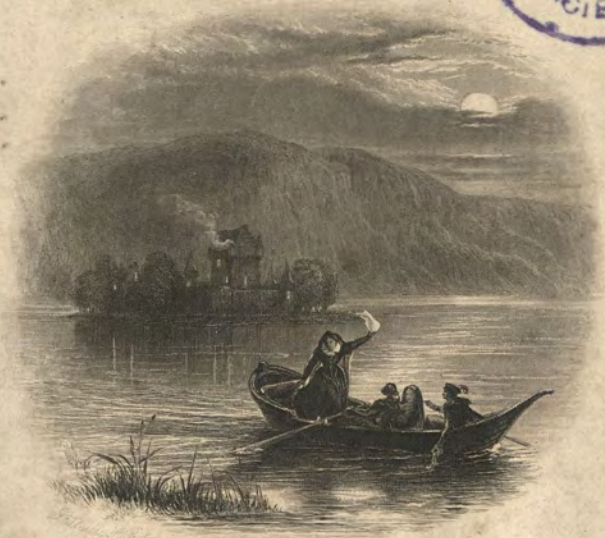


Queen Mary's Escape from Lochleven.

VOL. VI.

LIVES

OF THE

QUEENS OF SCOTLAND

AND

ENGLISH PRINCESSES

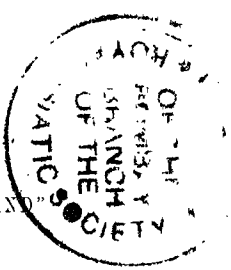
CONNECTED WITH THE REGAL SUCCESSION OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY

Agnes Strickland

AUTHOR OF

"LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND"



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"The treasures of antiquity laid up
In old historic rolls I opened."—BEAUMONT.

VOL. VI.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
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ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

THE SIXTH VOLUME

FRONTISPIECE — PORTRAIT OF MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND. Reduced by GOURLAY STEELL, Esq., from the Original in the Collection of the EARL OF MORTON at Dalmahoy; presented by herself to her deliverer, GEORGE DOUGLAS. (*See Page* 128.)

VIGNETTE — QUEEN MARY'S ESCAPE FROM LOCHLEVEN. Designed by GOURLAY STEELL, Esq. (*See Page* 70.)

WOODCUT—From a reduced Drawing by GOURLAY STEELL, Esq., of the PICTORIAL TAPESTRY WORKED BY QUEEN MARY, AND LEFT UNFINISHED AT LOCHLEVEN. In possession of the EARL OF MORTON at Dalmahoy, . . . Page 32

NOTE.

THROUGH the courtesy of the Earl of Morton, we are enabled to present the reader with a reduced drawing of the Screen at Dalmahoy House, covered with the curious tapestry worked by Queen Mary and the faithful companions of her durance at Lochleven Castle. In consequence of the very tiny proportions to which the size of the page limited the artist, the backgrounds and all the minor details of the designs are lost, and it will be desirable to examine the figures through a magnifying-glass; but it gives a correct representation of the costume and general outlines of some of the most remarkable groups.

Sincere acknowledgments must also be offered to the same liberal-minded nobleman for access to the valuable collection of historical documents preserved among his family archives, and for the permission and facilities so kindly afforded for having a reduced copy made and engraved, for the frontispiece of this volume, of the exquisite portrait of Mary Stuart, inherited from his chivalric ancestor, George Douglas of Lochleven, representing her in her prison costume; namely, the widow's dress she voluntarily resumed after she had dismissed Bothwell, and continued to wear for the last nineteen years of her life. It is scarcely possible to look on the original of this beautiful portrait for the first time without exclaiming—

> "Hail pensive nun, devout and holy!
> Hail divinest melancholy!"

It is indeed difficult for an engraving to do justice to it, so well do the subdued tints of the pale and purely fair complexion agree with the mournful expression of the dark intellectual eyes and thoughtful brow.

The Biography of Mary Stuart will be concluded in the next volume of "Lives of the Queens of Scotland, and Princesses of England connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain."

THE

QUEENS OF SCOTLAND

MARY STUART

CHAPTER XXXVII.

SUMMARY.

LIFE OF MARY STUART—*Continued.* Queen Mary's imprisonment at Lochleven—Coronation of her infant son—Perjured declarations of the rebel Lords that she had voluntarily resigned her crown—Queen Mary kept more straitly than before—Convention of nobles in her behalf—They demand to see her, but in vain—Return of the Earl of Moray to Scotland—Honours paid him by English and French ambassadors—His artful policy about the regency—He visits the Queen at Lochleven with Atholl and Morton—His unbrotherly conduct—Misrepresentations of what passed in their private interview—Mary's address to Atholl and Morton—She sends her blessing to her babe—Moray invested with the government of Scotland under the title of Regent—Queen Mary's seals broken—Others made, bearing the name of her son—Moray sends an expedition to Orkney in pursuit of Bothwell—Bothwell escapes to Norway—His testimony of Queen Mary's innocence.

FIVE days after Queen Mary's signature to the Deed of Abdication and Commissions of Regency had been extorted, the conspirators proceeded to the consummation of their successful plot for appropriating the power and revenues of the Crown, by investing her infant son with the insignia and titles of King of Scotland and Lord of the Isles. By a refinement of vindictive malice, the 29th of July, the second anniversary of Mary's nuptials with Darnley, was the day selected for inaugurating, as her superseder in the sovereignty

of the realm, the offspring of the marriage which that faction had so violently opposed.[1]

While the four Earls, seven Barons, and solitary Prelate, by whom the revolution was accomplished, were forming themselves into a procession of regalia-bearers in the hall of Stirling Castle, Hamilton of Muirton presented himself before them, and boldly entered a protest in the name of the Duke of Châtelherault, the first prince of the blood, against their proceedings, as illegal and injurious.[2] No attention was paid to his remonstrance by the conspirators. The game was in their own hands, and they meant to play it out by securing a regal minority of seventeen years. The infant heir of the realm was in the hands of their confederate, the Earl of Mar, the uncle of the absent head of the party, the Earl of Moray. Mar had promised the Queen, when she confided this precious trust to his keeping, never to deliver him unsanctioned by her into other hands; and in one sense he kept his word, for, with a keen regard to his own personal interests and aggrandisement, he insisted on retaining the personal care of the child, though he made no scruple of assisting her cruel foes and defamers in placing him on her throne, for the purpose of being opposed to her in every possible way, even unto matricide, if the exigences of the rebel cause should render it expedient to shed her blood under the warrant of his regal authority.

The majority of the nobles were loyal to their Queen; and that the hearts of the people were hers is clearly demonstrated by the fact that, in order to obtain their passive assent to the coronation of her son, the Lords of Secret Council were under the necessity of making use of her own name and authority against herself, by deluding them with the fiction that it was in obedience to her royal will and pleasure. In confirmation of this declaration, the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, the very men who had, by personal intimidation, forced her to sign the deeds of abdication, stood forth unblushingly in Stirling church, and swore in the presence of God and the Congregation, that "the Queen their Sovereign did resign, willingly and without compulsion, her

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents. [2] Chalmers.

royal estate and dignity to the Prince her son, and the government of her realm to the several persons named in her commission of regency."[1] The fraudulent document to that effect[2] having been publicly read by Sir John Bellenden, the Justice-Clerk, the religious solemnity that had been prefaced by so shameless a perjury commenced.

The Earl of Morton, acting as sponsor for the orphan babe of his murdered kinsman Darnley, laid his hand on the Evangelists, and pronounced the coronation oaths. John Knox vehemently opposed the office of unction as Popish, and of Jewish origin; but in this, more honest than wise, he had nearly acted the part of a marplot, for it was essential to the success of their enterprise that they should be able to boast of an anointed sovereign, otherwise the superstitions as well as the principles of two-thirds of the people of Scotland would be enlisted on the side of their lawfully consecrated Queen. His objections were therefore peremptorily overruled by the Lords, and the rite was duly performed by that profligate but useful member of the confederacy, Adam Bothwell, the presbyterianised Bishop of Orkney,[3] who had about ten weeks previously executed the

[1] Letter from Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, July 31, 1567. Stevenson's Illustrations, 257. Tytler's Hist. Scot. Lingard's Elizabeth.

[2] In order to prove how little credit is due to the charges the conspirators subsequently brought against their Queen, it will only be necessary to recite one paragraph from the statement which was thus put forth by them in her name. "As after long and intolerable pains and labour taken by us since our arrival within our realm for government thereof, and keeping of the lieges of the same in quietness, we have not only been vexed in our spirit, body, and senses thereby, but also at length are altogether so vexed thereof, that our ability and strength of body is not able longer to endure the same; therefore, and because nothing earthly can be more comfortable and happy to us in this earth than in our lifetime to see our dear son, the native Prince of this our realm, placed in the kingdom thereof, and the crown-royal set on his head, we, of our own *free will* and *special motion*, have demitted and renounced the government, guiding, and governing of this our realm of Scotland, lieges, and subjects thereof, in favour of our said son." Deeds of Abdication—Anderson. Stevenson's Illustrations.

[3] It has been occasionally asserted that Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, was cousin to the notorious Earl of Bothwell; but Bothwell was not the name but the title of that nobleman, who was maternally descended from the most illustrious houses in Scotland, and related to the Queen herself, through his descent from Queen Jane Beaufort, widow of James I., by her second husband, Sir James Stuart; whereas Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, was the son of a rich Edinburgh burgess and Katharine Bellenden, aunt of Patrick Bellenden who aimed his rapier at Mary's breast, and the

disgraceful service for the conspirators, of joining their defenceless Queen in wedlock to the wretch whose marriage with her they had solemnly pledged themselves to accomplish.[1] The Earl of Atholl put the crown on the infant's head.[2]

The coronation sermon was preached by Knox from the eleventh chapter of II. Kings, describing the inauguration of Joash and the slaughter of Athaliah; a subject obviously chosen for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the ignorant and raising a death-whoop against their desolate and bereaved Queen, by instituting, in defiance of the facts, an injurious analogy.

In blissful unconsciousness of all the maledictions and requisitions for the blood of his hapless mother, which were thundered from the pulpit in his presence, the princely babe, wrapt in a deep slumber, the result probably of a powerful anodyne, lay motionless on the throne during the whole of this stirring scene.[3] The homage-paying of his four Earls, seven Barons, and one Prelate, did not consume much time.[4] The titles of the high and puissant Prince, James VI., were proclaimed with flourish of trumpets at the church door at the conclusion of the ceremonial, and the Earl of Mar,

Justice-Clerk, Sir John Bellenden, one of the most artful agents in Queen Mary's ruin. When no other ecclesiastic, either of the old church or the reformed, could be found to marry the Queen to the Earl of Bothwell, Sir John Bellenden suborned Adam, Bishop of Orkney, who was also a Lord of Session, to perform the unhallowed office, at the which he preached a sermon from the second chapter of Genesis. This, from first to last, proves that he acted entirely under the influence of the conspirators.

[1] See the bond signed by them for that purpose, April 20, 1567.

[2] Diurnal of Occurrents. [3] Lingard's Elizabeth.

[4] An armed force guarded the approaches to the Castle and scene of action during the time of the ceremony, from two o'clock in the afternoon till five. The Peers rehearsed in the Diurnal of Occurrents as present were—"James Earl of Morton, John Earl of Atholl, John Earl of Mar, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Alexander Lord Home, John Lord Lindsay, William Lord Ruthven, with the Lord Sanquhar and certain other small Barons. . . . And these were the whole nobles that were at his coronation, or consented thereto, which were but a small number in respect of the nobility," (p. 119.) So erroneous is the assertion that Queen Mary was dethroned by the majority of her nobles. Had that been the case, the coronation of her son would have been preceded by her deposition in Parliament.

taking the doughty monarch in his arms, carried him back to his nursery.[1] The king-makers, after partaking of the banquet, deputed Lord Lindsay to resume his ungracious office of jailer-extraordinary over their deposed Sovereign at Lochleven.

Mary was seriously ill at the time of her son's coronation. Her malady was a fever, caused by distress of mind and the outrageous treatment to which she had been subjected. "This Queen," writes Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, "doth, as I understand, keep her bed, and is, notwithstanding this her son's coronation, guarded in the same place as straightly as she was, the Lord Lindsay being returned from Stirling to Lochleven immediately after the ceremony was ended."[2] In his despatch to Leicester of the same date, Throckmorton adverts to the murderous malice of the conspirators against their hapless Sovereign, and observes that "he has preserved her life for this time, but for what continuance is uncertain;"[3] adding with some appearance of commiseration for Mary's distress and fond reliance on the friendly professions of Elizabeth: "It were very unfit that I should now speak with this Queen, seeing I cannot say so much to her comfort as to her discomfort, following my instructions, which were too hard considering her calamity and temptation; and on the other side, words without deeds be no comfort. I have sufficiently made it known to her that Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, sent me hither purposely to relieve her by all means possible, which I am sure the poor lady doth believe."

The aggravation of Mary's imprisonment, which took place immediately on the return of Lord Lindsay to the island with the instructions of the confederate traitors who had usurped her regal authority, is thus described by Throckmorton to Cecil: "The Queen of Scotland is straightlier kept than she was, for now she is shut up

[1] Lingard's Elizabeth—Hist. England.
[2] Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, July 31, 1567.
[3] Letter of Throckmorton to Leicester, July 31, 1567. Stevenson's Illustrations.

in a tower, and can have none admitted to her but such as be shut up with her."[1]

Mary had the comfort of knowing that true hearts were willing to share her captivity, and to suffer with her and for her, even unto death. Nor was her party extinct in Scotland. A convention of her nobles, comprising a very considerable majority of the Peers of Parliament, met at Hamilton to devise means for obtaining her liberty and restoration to her throne. In reply to their remonstrances, the self-appointed Council of Regency sent Sir James Melville to inform them that the Queen had abdicated her regal office to her son. The younger nobles cried out unanimously, "We know the Queen too well to believe that she would voluntarily resign her crown. If she have really done so, she must have been put in fear of her life, for never would she have given it up of her own free will." Archbishop Hamilton strove to qualify their generous warmth of feeling by a diplomatic reply to Melville's announcement; but they exclaimed, "Tell the Lords of Secret Council to let us see our Queen in their presence, that we may learn from her own lips whether it be really her pleasure to demit the crown to her son, for if she avow it to be so, and that the Commissions of Regency are her own act and deed, then will we promise to acknowledge the Prince as our King, and the persons named in the Commissions as his Regents."[2] No access to Mary's presence was, however, permitted by the conspirators. Care for her personal safety deterred her loyal friends from more earnest demonstrations in her behalf, for they were assured by her jailers that, if they attempted to take up arms for her deliverance, her head should be sent to them in reply.[3]

The junta that had dethroned and imprisoned Mary was neither powerful nor influential enough to maintain the position it had assumed, unless supported by the Queen of England; and it was her will that the Earl of Moray

[1] Throckmorton to Cecil, August 2, 1567. Ibid.
[2] Sir James Melville's Memoirs.
[3] Memorial of Queen Mary's Nobles—Goodall.

should reign in Scotland as her viceroy, under the title of Regent for Mary's infant son. The conspirators had no other choice than to concede the office to him, by which prudent decision they averted the danger of his making his own terms with his royal sister, and leaving them in the lurch, as he had done after the slaughter of David Riccio. Mary had given Moray no just cause of complaint; they had parted in the most friendly manner when he left Scotland, and it was wholly in his power to restore her to liberty and empire. It is true that she was Morton's prisoner, and was kept under the rigorous jailership of his deputy, Lindsay, in Lochleven Castle; but that fortalice was in the possession of Moray's mother and maternal brethren. Lindsay was his sister's husband, and wholly subservient to his will, so that Moray, not Morton, was the arbiter of her fate. With what anxious feelings must she have awaited his return! Ten days after the coronation of the baby-king he arrived at Berwick.[1] A secret split had already taken place among the king-makers, who were divided into two parties, one headed by Morton, the other by Atholl, and nothing but the perilous responsibilities they had incurred by their treatment of their Queen restrained them from open hostilities with each other. The return of Moray prevented Mary from reaping any benefit from these divisions, for with common consent they united in deputing Sir James Melville to proceed to Berwick to welcome him, and secure his co-operation in her dethronement, by informing him of his appointment as sole Regent during the long minority of her boy. Sir James was at the same time clandestinely charged by the leaders of the two jarring parties to deliver confidential messages to Moray, prescribing the conduct they desired him to adopt in regard to his royal sister. Atholl, Mar, Lethington, Tullibardine, and Kirkaldy of Grange, who had, since their quarrel with Morton, affected a tone of affection to their unfortunate Queen, entreated him "to bear himself gently and humbly towards her, and endeavour to conciliate her favour; for her Majesty," they said, "being now free from evil advisers,

[1] Throckmorton to Cecil, August 2, 1567.

and possessing a clear wit and princely inclinations, the time might come when they all would wish her at liberty to rule over them."[1] Morton and his clique exhorted him, on the contrary, to have no dealings with the Queen, nor even to see her, lest he might be won over to milder proceedings, instead of running so hard a course against her as they were bent on following. Moray promised to follow the prudent counsel of the moderate party, but professed great reluctance to accept the office of Regent. Melville was, however, informed by some who were in his company, "that he was right glad when he first understood it was to be conferred upon him."[2]

From Berwick Moray proceeded the next day to Whittinghame, where, it will be remembered, the conferences for Darnley's murder took place in the preceding January, between Morton, Bothwell, Archibald Douglas, and Lethington. Thither Lethington now came to hold secret council with the master-mover of the game, in the same secluded shades where the preluding step to Queen Mary's deposition was plotted.

Moray entered Edinburgh in triumph on the 11th of August, riding between the Envoy of the King of France and the resident Ambassador of the Queen of England. Both had paid him the extraordinary compliment of coming to meet him on the road, as if he had been a reigning sovereign. Everything was against Mary. M. de Lignerolles, the French Envoy, was the particular friend of Moray, and a leading member of the party opposed to her uncles. Though his mission was for the express purpose of comforting Queen Mary, and demanding her restoration to the regal authority, he took the refusal of access to her presence in very good part, did her cause irreparable mischief by acknowledging her son as King of Scotland, and debased the dignity of his office by accepting costly presents from her spoils.[3] Morton and his confederates had seized Mary's plate and sent it to the Mint, to be coined into money to supply the means of supporting

[1] Memoirs of Sir James Melville. [2] Ibid.
[3] Throckmorton's Despatches—State Paper Office MSS.

their faction against her, not even sparing the costly silver font, Queen Elizabeth's christening gift to her godson, which was melted down with the rest of the plunder.[1]

As soon as Moray signified his intention of assuming the reins of empire as Regent, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton requested to be allowed access to the captive Queen. Moray assured him it could not be permitted, the Lords having refused it to the French Ambassador. Throckmorton then urged him "to visit and comfort her himself, that she might at least receive some consolation, after her long affliction, at his coming."[2] The confederate Lords at first objected to Moray visiting his royal sister; and when, after long debate among themselves, they conceded the point, the leaders of the discordant parties in the confederacy insisted on accompanying him. Moray, however, contrived to rid himself of Glencairn, Mar, Sempill, and Lethington, by the way, and took only Morton, Atholl, and Lindsay with him to Lochleven. He arrived there on the 15th of August in the afternoon, and proceeded immediately with Atholl and Morton to the tower where Mary was incarcerated. They entered her presence together. She received them with a passionate burst of weeping, and drawing Moray away from the other two, whom she regarded as perfidious contract-breakers, spoke long and earnestly with him apart. No one could hear what was said, but Moray assumed an air of impenetrable reserve, so that his royal sister could by no means understand whether he intended to act a friendly part or otherwise. Attributing his manner, probably, to the presence of the others, when supper was over she expressed her desire of speaking with him alone. Every one retired, and she remained in private conference with him till an hour after midnight.

Poor Mary, in her dreary prison-house, sick, sorrowful, and oppressed, had probably flattered herself with the

[1] They had previously assured their English correspondents at Berwick that Queen Mary had caused this font to be coined into money for her own use, which statement is many times repeated in Drury's Letters to Cecil, affording one among many instances of the small degree of credit due to the reports of Mary Stuart's doings derived from that source. See Borders Correspondence, State Paper Office MSS., 1567.

[2] Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, August 14, 1567.

hope of receiving sympathy and fraternal aid from her father's son. Far different was his conduct. He came not to fulfil the Christian duty of speaking of deliverance to the captive, nor to heal the broken heart, but to pour the last drop of gall into her cup of misery by his taunts. Such particulars of their midnight communings in her lonely prison-room as he thought proper to furnish, are thus reported by Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth: "The said Earl plainly, without disguising, did discover unto the Queen all his opinion of her misgovernment, and laid before her all such disorders as either might touch her conscience, her honour, or surety. I do hear that he behaved himself rather like a ghostly father unto her than like a counsellor. Sometimes the Queen wept bitterly, sometimes she acknowledged her unadvisedness and misgovernment; some things she did excuse, some things she did extenuate. In conclusion, the Earl of Moray left her that night in hope of nothing but God's mercy."[1] It is certain, however, that if Mary had been intimidated into acknowledging faults of a more serious nature than errors of judgment and political mistakes, to which any woman is liable, her confessions would not have been held sacred.

That his insolence to his unfortunate Sovereign during his visit to Lochleven was not confined to a private conference, is evident from the testimony of his friend and panegyrist, Sir James Melville, certifying that even the time-serving courtiers who had forsaken her in her adversity to follow him, were so much shocked as to offer a remonstrance. When he passed to see the Queen at Lochleven," observes that quaint author, "instead of comforting her, and following the good counsel he had gotten, he entered instantly with her Majesty in reproaches and such injurious language as was like to break her heart, and so many of us as found fault with that manner *tint* [lost] his favour. The injuries were such that it cut the thread of love and credit between him and the Queen for ever."[2]

Throckmorton, however, proceeding with Moray's version

[1] Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, August 20, 1567.

[2] Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 104—Bannatyne Club edition.

of the story, to which small credit is due, being obviously framed and coloured to suit a political purpose, states "that Queen Mary, desiring to see her brother the next morning, they began where they left off the night before, and that Moray, "after his reprehensions, used some words of consolation unto her, tending to this, 'that he would assure her of her life, and, as much as in him lay, the preservation of her honour. As for her liberty, it lay not in his power, neither was it good for her to seek it, nor presently for her to have it, for many respects.' Whereupon she took him in her arms and kissed him, and showed herself very well satisfied, requiring him in any ways not to refuse the Regency of the realm, but to accept it at her desire;" adding many compliments and persuasions to overcome his affected reluctance, till "he accorded unto her the acceptation of the Regency." It is also coolly asserted that, after he had generously condescended to undertake this office, "the Queen required him to leave no means undone to bring all parts of the realm into his own disposing, and likewise to take her jewels, and things of value which were hers, into his custody."[1]

A more probable account of what passed during this interview has been recorded by Mary's own pen in her now forgotten "Appeal to all Christian Princes," written with queenly dignity, and speaking of herself in the third person. After a brief summary of her supplanting brother's proceedings in attaining the object for which he had striven from his first entrance on the arena of public life, as the Prior of St Andrews, and charging him as the author of her husband's assassination, she says: "The Earl of Moray remained in France, while the plot he had contrived before he went away was executed by his accomplices. He had two reasons for his journey: one to avoid her Majesty's suspicions, that, not distrusting him, she might fall the more easily into his power; the other was to make the people think that the barbarity that had been practised against their Queen did not proceed from him, and that if he accepted the Regency it would be for the

[1] Throckmorton's Letter to Queen Elizabeth, August 20, 1567.

general good, since she had conferred it upon him in his absence. The better to cloak his designs on his return, which was immediately after the execution of the enterprise, he affected a great reluctance to take the office upon him till he should have seen the Queen, 'to have,' as he said, 'the free consent of her Majesty from her own lips;' and for this purpose he went to her at Lochleven, where she was a prisoner. But when he found that the Queen dissuaded him from accepting the Regency, and that she confided in his assistance, he threw off the mask, and told her 'he had already accepted it, and could not be excused from it.'"[1] As there were no witnesses of this conversation, Moray took the opportunity, in his account of it to Throckmorton, who had no other means of information, to represent the sister and Sovereign whom he was so deeply injuring as a self-condemned criminal, terrified at the prospect of a scaffold, clinging to him as her only hope, bearing his insults with humility, and imploring him to accept the guardianship of her child, the government of her realm, her jewels, and everything of value she possessed, in return for his half-promise of endeavouring to preserve her miserable existence as long as she refrained from making any effort to recover her liberty or disturb her son's reign.

The Mary Stuart of reality was of a different spirit; but as she had not then shown how fearlessly she could look death in the face, it was as easy for her defamers to charge her with pusillanimity as with adultery and murder. The pathetic dignity of her address to Morton and Atholl when they came to take their leave of her, proves how little value she placed on her own life, and how unlikely she would have been to purchase it by self-abasement.

"My Lords," said she, "you have had experience of my severity, and of the end of it; I pray you also let me find that you have learned by me to make an end of yours, or at least that you can make it final."[2] These words we may well believe she uttered, for they were characteristic of her feelings both as queen and woman.

[1] Memorial in behalf of Marie Queen of Scots: an Appeal to all Christian Princes—Teulet, Pièces et Documens; written at Carlisle 1568.

[2] Throckmorton to Elizabeth, August 20, 1567. Keith, 441.

When, however, Moray came to take his leave, the bereaved mother, knowing he was going straight to Stirling where her infant was—the powerful impulses of nature rendering her forgetful of everything save the fond yearnings of maternal love — flung herself into his arms with an hysterical passion of weeping, kissed him, and bade him give her blessing to the Prince her son. Possibly she flattered herself with the hope that Moray, who was himself a parent, might sympathise in these feelings. On the birth of his eldest daughter he had made his will, and testified his confidence in the integrity and goodness of Queen Mary by appointing her his sole executrix, and the guardian and tutrix of his infant heiress; at which time her Majesty, at his earnest entreaty, had done him the honour of publicly accepting that trust. It is a singular fact that this instrument remained uncancelled at the time of Moray's death.[1] Too oft had the cool calculator experienced the forgiving temper of his injured Sovereign not to feel secure that, in the event of his fall and her restoration to power, she would prove a tender and beneficent aunt to his child, and bring her up in the practice of every feminine virtue.

Mary had found means to send the following brief letter to Throckmorton, which, though he makes no allusion to it in his correspondence with his own Court, appears to have awakened those compassionate feelings towards her which are at this time perceptible in his official reports of her miserable and precarious position.

"Monsieur de Throckmorton,—I would not omit, having this opportunity writing to you, a word of thanks for the good-will which, I understand by this bearer, you cherish for me. I pray you to continue it, and to present my affectionate commendations to the Queen my good sister, and thank her on my part for the affection she has manifested for me in my affliction. I have neither leisure nor opportunity to write more to you, nor to write to her at all; wherefore I remit myself to your discretion, praying God that he will have you in his holy keeping.

"From my prison, in the Tower of Lochleven, your most assured and obliged friend, Marie R."[2]

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[1] It is still in existence in the Earl of Morton's Charter-room at Dalmahoy House, and has been printed, by his Lordship's permission, by the Bannatyne Club.

[2] Balcarras MSS., Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Translated from the original French.

Robert Melville is supposed to have been the bearer alluded to by Mary, but there is no date of the month; and having been written after her removal to the tower, where no one was admitted to see her but the mother and brethren of Moray, it is more likely to have been conveyed by George Douglas.

Some amelioration in the rigour of Mary's confinement took place in consequence of her bitter complaints to Moray of the barbarity of her jailers; for before his departure he caused his brother, Sir William Douglas of Lochleven, their brother-in-law Lord Lindsay, and their coadjutor Lord Ruthven, to be summoned, and enjoined them, in her presence, "to treat her with gentleness, and allow her all the liberty that could be granted;"[1] which meant, that she was to be permitted to take air and exercise, duly guarded, within the limits of an island five acres in extent. Even this poor privilege was a precious boon to the royal captive, who had been for so many days confined to her own apartments in the south-eastern tower of Lochleven Castle.

Moray pretended "that, after his departure, the Queen his sister wrote a letter to him with her own hand, requesting him to take her jewels, and everything she had of value, into his own custody, for otherwise she was sure neither she nor her son would have much good of them."[2] It is scarcely necessary to observe that, if Mary had really written such a letter, it would have been carefully preserved as his warrant for intromitting with them. Yea, and it would have been pleaded in self-defence by Lady Moray, when subsequently called upon, on the one hand, by the rightful owner, Queen Mary, and on the other by Morton, to refund that portion of the prey which Moray had devoted to the decoration of her person.

It is a fact worthy of notice, that Queen Mary's fatal resolution of seeking refuge in England was first discussed between her and Moray during their conferences at Lochleven, perhaps suggested by him, that, in the event of her effecting her escape, she might fall into that snare from

[1] Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, August 20. [2] Ibid.

which no earthly power should be able to extricate her. "The said Earl," writes Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, "declared unto me that the Queen his sister sent me her hearty commendations, and required me to thank your Majesty for this your favour employed for her relief already; so she desired your Majesty to be pleased and to procure that she may live with you in England, in what sort and manner as it should please your Majesty to appoint, for truly she hath no desire to live in her own country, nor any other, but there in your realm."[1]

When Throckmorton, who had long been impatient to leave Scotland, requested Moray to appoint some time that day that he might declare to him and Lethington such commission as he had in charge from his royal mistress, the said Earl devoutly answered: "We must now serve God, for the preacher tarrieth for us, and after the sermon we must advise of a time to confer with you." The time appointed was the 21st of August. They then vehemently, but certainly most falsely, protested, in reply to his Excellency's remonstrances against their injurious treatment of their sovereign lady, by taking God to witness that they never meant harm, either to the Queen's person or to her honour. They did not forget, they said, "the manifold benefits they had received from her; therefore the great affection they had always borne to her could not be altogether extinguished. Yea, so far from meaning her harm, they wished that she were Queen of the whole world."[2] After this prelude Lethington changed his tone, excusing the deeds that were so much at variance with their professions, by comparing their Queen "to a person sick of a burning fever requiring all things hurtful, with which she could not be indulged by those who meant her well;" adding, that "if any foreign princes, especially the Queen of England, attempted to interpose their power in her aid, so as to put them in danger, they should be compelled to deal with their Queen otherwise than they intended. For, my Lord Ambassador," said he, "you may be sure we will not lose our

[1] August 20, 1567. Keith, 447.
[2] Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, August 22, 1567. Keith.

lives, have our lands forfeited, and be reputed rebels through the world, when we have the means in our own hands to justify ourselves. Whensoever you invade us," continued he, "we are sure France will aid us, for their league standeth fast, and they are bound by their league to defend us." Throckmorton made no rejoinder to this medley of falsehood and bravado, but turning to Moray said, "Sir, you have no such interest in this matter as these men, for you have committed no such excess, and therefore I trust the answer given me by the Lord of Lethington, though it may be the mind of the Lords his associates, is not agreeable to yours." Moray, having prudently refrained from joining in the overt treasons of the confederates till the proper moment for throwing off the mask arrived, now replied: "Sir Nicholas, truly methinketh you have heard reason at the Laird of Lethington's hand, and, for mine own part, though I were not at the doings past, yet surely I must allow of them, and, God willing, intend to take such part as they do; and, seeing the Queen and they have laid upon me the charge of the regentry—a burden which I would gladly have eschewed—I do mean to risk my life in defence of their action, and will either reduce all men to obedience in the King's name, or it shall cost me my life."[1]

The ceremony of investing the Earl of Moray with the Government of Scotland, under the title of the Lord Regent, was performed August 22, in the Parliament Hall, indeed, but without the presence or sanction of a Parliament. The proceeding was, therefore, no less unconstitutional than treasonable, for the royal infant, in whose name Moray was to exercise the regal authority, had not been recognised as King by the three Estates of Scotland. The sole authority on which the Lords of Secret Council had presumed to crown him, and choose a regent, was, as they pretended, obedience to the commands of their lawful Sovereign, Queen Mary. Why, instead of consenting to accept a regency so improperly conferred, did not Moray use the Queen's name for convening a lawful Parliament to

[1] Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, August 22, 1567. Keith.

settle the Government on constitutional principles? The feigned declaration stating her inability to continue to govern Scotland, by reason of bodily weakness, and her wish to resign her crown to her son, and to constitute her trusty brother James, Earl of Moray, regent for the babe, having been read by the Justice-Clerk, Bellenden, as at the coronation, Moray took the oaths with his hand on the Gospels, and sang the seventy-second psalm.[1] The deeds of abdication were, after Moray's induction into the regency, sent to Queen Elizabeth, who always kept them in her own personal custody.[2]

Queen Mary's great seal, and all other regal seals pertaining to her, were immediately called in and broken by Moray.[3] The new seals bore the name of her infant son, by the style and title of James VI. King of Scotland.[4] The dies of her coining-irons were also destroyed, and a new coinage made from her plate, bearing, not the image, but the regal superscription of her son, and the Crown of Scotland resting on a sword—an over-true illustration of the tenure on which it was to be held by the innocent usurper of his mother's rights: the intrinsic worth of the money was five times less than the nominal or currency value at which it was issued.[5]

The most politic, if not the most reputable, act of the new Regent, was his pact with Sir James Balfour, notoriously known to be one of the actual murderers of Darnley, by which he gave him full pardon and remission for his share in that deed, £5000 in money, and a pension for his son, on condition of his putting him in possession of Edinburgh Castle. The rich Priory of Pittenweem, his own personal property, was added by the righteous Regent to this enormous bribe,[6] probably as the price of secresy in regard to the particulars of the conspiracy for widowing and dethron-

[1] Stevenson's Illustrations. Tytler. Keith. Bell. Throckmorton's Despatches. Lignerolles' Ambassade. Spottiswood. Chalmers.
[2] Leicester to Cecil, Aug. 6, 1567—State Paper MSS. inedit.
[3] Acts of the Privy Council, August 23, 1567. [4] Ibid, August 30.
[5] Throckmorton to Cecil—State Paper Office MS.
Ibid. Tytler's Hist. Scotland. Keith. Chalmers.

ing the Queen, in which Sir James Balfour had proved one of the most subtle instruments; but Moray's composition with him speaks for itself.

The appointment of the Earl of Moray to the regency was proclaimed to the people of Edinburgh by the heralds with sound of trumpets, in the names of "Queen Mary and her dearest son King James." The deceptive commission to which her Majesty's signature had been extorted was publicly read, and submitted to as her act and deed. The heralds went forth to repeat the like ceremony in the principal towns; but at Dumfries, at Hamilton, and many other places, they were driven away, and not permitted to proclaim either a king or regent.[1] The true hearts of Scotland clave to Queen Mary, the fear of imperilling her life alone prevented active demonstrations in her favour, the convention of nobles assembled at Hamilton having been assured by the Earl of Moray and his faction, "that, if they attempted to strike a stroke for her deliverance, her head would be sent them in reply."[2] Thus, Mary's person having been fatally entrapped by the conspirators, she was held as a hostage to insure the non-resistance of her friends. The storm of the devastating civil war, which was destined to scourge Scotland once more, lowered darkly, but did not descend in its fury till she was out of the hands of the astute confederacy by which she had been dethroned.

Throckmorton having obtained his recall, preferred a last request to be permitted to visit Queen Mary at Lochleven. Moray answered "that it would be impossible to grant that favour to him which he had refused to the French Ambassador," and, in reply to his intercession for her restoration to liberty, observed, "that as long as Bothwell was at large it would be too dangerous." "What will be her Majesty's condition and estate after his apprehension?" inquired the Ambassador. Moray parried this inconvenient query with the shrewd proverb, "We cannot merchandise for the bear's skin till we have got him."[3] The

[1] Stevenson's Illustrations. Chalmers.

[2] Memorial of the Great Nobles of Scotland, at Dumbarton, 12th September 1568.—Goodall, Appendix, No. 369, p. 366.

[3] Throckmorton to Cecil, September 1, 1567. Stevenson's Illustrations.

conspirators had certainly been in no hurry to commence their chase, their supineness in this matter plainly demonstrating to all, not wilfully blind to the means whereby the successful steps for the dethronement of their hapless Sovereign had been effected, that her capture, not his, was the object for which they had taken up arms. They had permitted him to leave the field at Carberry unpursued, their plenipotentiary Grange having taken him by the hand and advised him "to go when he could;" and they had allowed him to remain unmolested at Dunbar, only twenty miles from Edinburgh, for nearly a fortnight, without making the slightest effort either by sea or land for his capture. It was not till ten days after the Queen, for whose rescue they pretended they had taken up arms, had been ensnared by them, dragged from her metropolis, and thrust violently into the fortress of Lochleven, that these men took the trouble of even summoning Bothwell to surrender, or offering a price for his apprehension. He might easily have been taken if they had really desired his capture, for, with his usual recklessness, he boldly put out from the port of Dunbar in a coble, and occasionally in a six-oared boat, and cruised from place to place along the coast at his pleasure, and once landed within a convenient distance of Linlithgow, where he conferred with Lord Claud Hamilton, and returned unscathed.[1] Finding that the Queen's friends would not coalesce with him, he left Dunbar under the command of his kinsman Patrick Whitlaw, and early in July proceeded to Aberdeenshire, for the purpose of levying forces in the neighbourhood of Strathbogie, where the power of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Huntley, was supreme. But Huntley not only refused to fraternise with him, but publicly discountenanced all his attempts to raise a party, by declaring "that he heartily wished both his sister and the Queen rid of so wicked a husband;"[2] Lady Bothwell, meantime, assuring every one in Edinburgh "that no power on earth should compel

[1] Drury to Cecil, June 19; Scrope to Cecil, June 21; Drury to Cecil June 27, 1567—State Paper Office MSS. inedit.

[2] Throckmorton's Correspondence with Cecil.

her ever to live with the Earl of Bothwell again as his wife."[1]

Foiled in his attempts to strengthen himself in the Gordon country, Bothwell next betook himself to Spynie Castle, the episcopal palace of his great-uncle, the aged Bishop of Moray. It was in this house he had been educated, and formed his evil habits of life in early youth among a graceless set of half-savage profligates. The society there had not advanced either in morals or civilisation since that period. Three natural sons of the old Bishop, bearing the family name of Hepburn, were among the inmates; one of these was killed by Bothwell in a fray on his first arrival.[2] The surviving brethren entered into a plot with two English spies, Christopher and Anthony Rokesby, who were in ward there, to avenge his blood. The Rokesbys sent privately to Throckmorton, requesting him to communicate the same to Sir William Cecil, and to inquire withal "whether it were her Majesty Queen Elizabeth's godly mind that Bothwell should be either delivered into England alive, or assassinated at Spynie, together with the old Bishop his uncle, who, in spite of his wicked doings and the hostility of the young Hepburns, continued to harbour him." Throckmorton, in communicating this proposal to his Sovereign, expressed "a hope that it would not be encouraged, for the Bishop was turned of fourscore, and he did not see what advantage either the capture or assassination of Bothwell would be to her Majesty."[3] There can be no doubt it would have been the best thing that could have happened for Mary, by depriving her subtle foes of the use they made of his name in connection with hers. Bothwell, however, settled the matter his own way, by turning the Bishop out of his palace, with his surviving sons and all his servants, and establishing himself there with about fourteen of his ruffian followers, till he considered it expedient to change his quarters and betake himself to Orkney. A squadron of five light-armed vessels

[1] Throckmorton's Correspondence with Cecil. [2] Ibid.
[3] Stevenson's Illustrations.

of war still sailed under his flag as Lord-Admiral of Scotland, and were performing such notorious acts of piracy in the northern seas as to render them objects of uneasiness to the English merchant-ships for a few weeks. Kirkwall Castle belonged to Bothwell, but the castellan, Gilbert Balfour, being the brother of his old confederates and accomplices in Darnley's murder, Sir James Balfour and Robert Balfour, Provost of Kirk-of-Field, having like them entered into covenant with Moray, not only refused to receive him, but pointed his artillery against him, so that he found himself driven to take refuge among the Shetland Isles; his first intention of returning to Dunbar being frustrated by Patrick Whitlaw's declaration, "that he was not holding out the castle for him, but for the Queen, to whom alone he would surrender it."

The people, whose indignation against Bothwell had been excited to the highest pitch, considered it a great scandal that he should continue at large, and no efforts be made to capture and bring him to justice for the aggravated treasons of which he had so often been denounced, by the Lords of Secret Council, in their public proclamations. The first concession to popular opinion made by Moray, on his accession to the regency, was sending out a squadron of five ships, under the command of the Laird of Tullibardine, Bothwell's great enemy, and Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange. These two had commission "to pursue the Earl of Bothwell, his assisters and colleagues, by sea and land, with fire and sword." They were also given authority "to erect and hold courts of justice, wheresoever they might think good."[1] Thus Bothwell was, if captured, to be dealt with according to martial law, by a summary trial and immediate execution. It was, indeed, of the utmost consequence to Morton, and the other conspirators who had been accomplices with him in Darnley's murder, that he should not be brought alive to Edinburgh to reveal their guilty secret. With Tullibardine and Grange went that useful member of the confederacy that had hurled Mary Stuart from her

[1] Register of Privy Council.

throne, the priestly Lord of Session, Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney. It has been shrewdly conjectured that his business in this expedition was to exercise his judicial function, by passing sentence of death on the notable prisoner they expected to capture and intended to execute. As an ecclesiastic of the Protestant Congregation, whereof the Earl of Bothwell was a member, Bishop Adam was also qualified to perform the office of a ghostly father to him after his condemnation, by receiving his last confession, or, what would be far more to the purpose, able to fabricate such a one, in his name, as might suit the Regent and Lords of Secret Council to publish as evidence against their unfortunate Queen. But Moray's witticism, implying the necessity of catching the bear before they could dispose of his skin, was oracular as to the result of this expedition for the capture, trial, and execution of Bothwell. The particulars of the pursuit and escape of that great state criminal, are thus tersely related by the eloquent pen of our historical contemporary and friend, Mark Napier, Esq., in one of his interesting notes to his edition of Spottiswood :—

"On the 19th of August 1567, their armament was complete, and set sail for the Orkneys. They had five ships heavily armed, carrying four hundred soldiers. Even the Bishop clothed himself in armour, having on, as Hume of Godscroft says, 'a corslet of proof.' It would have been singular if he had presided at the trial and condemnation of the man to whom he had been so recently the instrument of uniting his Sovereign. Having reached the Orkneys, they were directed by Gilbert Balfour to Shetland, in pursuit of their prey. It was not long ere they descried Bothwell's two vessels cruising off the east coast of Shetland, where currents, rocks, and whirlpools threatened destruction to the most skilful navigator. Grange, who commanded the Unicorn—the largest of the government ships—shot ahead, and approached Bressa Sound, through which the piratical Earl steered his course. So close was the chase, that when he and his vessels escaped by the north passage of the Sound, Grange came in by the south, and con-

tinued the pursuit. But Bothwell and his crew were familiar with those narrow and dangerous seas; they knew how lightly their own vessels could dash through the boiling eddy that indicated a sunken rock, and had discerned at a glance what would be the fate of their bulky pursuers if they dared to follow in their desperate wake. They steered directly for the breakers, and though the rocks grazed their keel, their vessel dashed through the cresting foam into a safer sea. Grange ordered every sail to be set, to impel the Unicorn in the same track. In vain his more experienced mariners remonstrated; the warrior baron, as if leading a charge of horse on the plains of Flanders, rushed on the breakers; his gallant ship struck, and forthwith began to sink. There was just time to hoist out a boat, which was instantly crowded. The Bishop of Orkney, encumbered with the armour which he was not accustomed to wear, was left behind, and with difficulty succeeded in scrambling from the sinking vessel to a jutting piece of rock. His cries were disregarded; the boat pushed off without him; another instant and he would have perished; but, collecting all his energies, he sprang into the midst of the crowded boat, making it reel with his additional weight, 'which,' says Hume of Godscroft, 'was thought a strange leap, especially not to have overturned the boat.' The Bishop's leap was long remembered; it passed, indeed, into a proverb; and the rock from which he sprang was called the Unicorn ever after."[1]

Bothwell's vessel, somewhat damaged, took refuge in the harbour of Unst, on the north of the island, where four of his other vessels lay; but as their captains and soldiers were solacing themselves on shore, and he was hotly pursued by Tullibardine and the other three ships-of-war, he cut, and ran on the course for Denmark. Tullibardine gave chase, and after a flying fight, which lasted about three hours, just as Bothwell's mainmast was shot away, and his capture appeared inevitable, a sudden and terrific storm from the south-west separated the vessels, and he

[1] Notes to Spottiswood's Church History, edited by Mark Napier, Esq. Vol. ii.

was driven on the coast of Norway, and forced to enter the harbour of Karmsund, to repair and victual his ships, which had put to sea, in consequence of this surprise, entirely unprepared.[1] Two only out of Bothwell's four vessels made this port, that in which he was himself being commanded by one of his old associates in evil, the notorious Captain Clarke, the other by David Wath, one of the most desperate buccaneers in the north seas, who was instantly denounced as such by a Bremen merchant whose ship he had seized in Shetland. This led to an immediate scrutiny of both crews, and a demand of their passports, and especially the papers by which they were chartered, when it was discovered they had none to produce.[2]

Christian Alborg, the captain of a Danish man-of-war called the Bear, then stationed at Karmsund, went on board the suspicious vessels, and was proceeding to overhaul them, when Bothwell, who personated a boatswain, attired in a patched and threadbare suit, accosted him, declared himself to be the consort of the Queen of Scotland, and the chief ruler of her realm, and requested to be conducted into the presence of the King of Denmark. Alborg, not knowing how to believe his statement, but convinced that he was something different from what his costume indicated, took him on board the Bear, and his vessels in tow, and brought him into the port of Bergen to be examined by the governor, Eric Rosencrantz.[3] This was an untoward circumstance for Bothwell, as Rosencrantz was the near relation of a noble Norwegian lady, named Anna Thrundesenn, whom this Lothario of Scottish history had married several years before, and deserted, after wasting much of her property. She was, indeed, his only legal wife, he having wedded her before his marriage with Lady Jane Gordon. Unaware of the governor's kindred with Anna, Bothwell assumed a lofty tone in his replies to the observations touching

[1] Bothwell's Memorial—Bell's Appendix.

[2] Les Affaires du Conte Boduel—Official Danish Paper, dated Bergenhus, 23d of September 1567.

[3] Ibid., and Chapter-book of the Town-Council of Bergen.

his lack of passport and ship's papers. "From whom should I receive them," he scornfully retorted, "being myself the supreme ruler of the realm?" He then demanded to go to an inn in the town and live at his own cost and pleasure, till he could be allowed to visit the Court of Denmark.[1] His Norwegian wife, dame Anna Thrundesenn, now appeared upon the scene, and was confronted with him in his next examination. In reply to her complaints, he said "he would make her a present of one of the vessels, in compensation of any pecuniary loss she might have sustained by supplying him with money, and promised to endow her liberally with an annual life-rent."[2] A reconciliation appears to have followed, for Eric Rosencrantz invited him to take up his abode in the castle at Bergen, entertained him very honourably for several days,[3] and offered his advice as to the best means of getting to Copenhagen and obtaining admission to the Court of Denmark, and the private audience with the King of which he was desirous.

Bothwell at first denied having any papers with him, but now recollected that he had concealed a portfolio full of private letters in the ballast of the vessel in which he had sailed, and sent three of his servants to the governor with a request that he might be permitted to fetch it. Captain Alborg, who had taken possession of the vessels, thought proper to go with him, and, finding the portfolio, took possession of it, carried it to the castle, and summoned the magistrates of the town to inspect the contents. It was fastened with several locks, but the keys being found on the person of one of Bothwell's servants, it was opened in the presence of the magistrates and the Governor of Bergen. It contained many letters in MS., and others printed, some in Latin, some in Scotch, which were read and interpreted to them; also the Queen's patent creating Bothwell Duke of Orkney, and various proclamations of the Lords of Secret Council, denouncing him as the murderer of the late King, consort to Queen Mary,

[1] Affaires du Conte de Boduel.
[2] Suhme's Collections for the History of Norway. [3] Ibid.

declaring him an outlaw, and offering a reward for his head.[1]

If Mary Stuart had ever committed herself by writing in an amatory strain to Bothwell, her letters would have been found among those which he had deemed of sufficient importance to carry away with him from Scotland in the locked portfolio he had so carefully secreted in the hold of the vessel. They would have served him, in the absence of a passport, to make good his boasts of his influence, and the place he held in his Sovereign's regard. One letter from her, and one alone, was discovered among the contents of this portfolio, written with her own hand, and addressed to him,—not a letter of affection, but one of complaint, lamenting her hard lot and that of her friends,—a letter which apparently produced the most unfavourable impression of his conduct and character on the minds of the honest magistrates and Governor of Bergen, for they immediately decided on sending him as a prisoner to the King of Denmark, with an official statement of the above particulars, and the papers which prompted them to take that course.[2] The King of Denmark, who was Mary's kinsman, and had been a candidate for her hand, ordered Bothwell to be closely confined in Copenhagen Castle. Bothwell vainly endeavoured to purchase his liberty and the means of returning to Scotland at the head of a naval and military force, by offering to put the King of Denmark in possession of the Orkney and Shetland Isles, of which that monarch and his predecessors had always claimed the sovereignty. He also addressed a very able and plausible memorial to his Majesty in explanation of his own conduct in Scotland, stating in brief and vigorous terms everything likely to produce a favourable impression for himself, and concealing such of his proceedings as must have had a contrary effect. He entirely suppresses his interception and capture of the Queen at Foulbriggs, and the fact of carrying her to Dunbar, detaining her there ten days in

[1] Suhme's Collections for the History of Norway.

[2] Report of Bothwell's Examination at the Bergenhus, signed by the Magistrates, dated September 23, 1567.

seclusion, and bringing her back to Edinburgh as his prisoner, under circumstances that compelled her to become his wife. He represents "their marriage to have been first suggested to him by the nobles, then recommended to the Queen by them in conference, and condescended to by her Majesty in compliance with their earnestly-expressed desire."[1] Common sense must convince every one that thus it would have been, if Mary had cherished even a slight portion of that inordinate affection for Bothwell which her political slanderers impute to her. What more could she have desired than to contract wedlock with him, in compliance with the request of her Peers and the advice of her Privy Councillors? It was because she did not love him, and would not condescend to a marriage which neither reason, taste, nor conscience approved, and which her own Church regarded as illegal, that Bothwell resorted to the outrageous means by which it was brought to pass.

The King of Denmark, who possessed accurate means of information through the French Ambassador, as well as his own spies, of the real state of the case, instead of returning an encouraging answer to Bothwell's tempting offer regarding the Orkney and Shetland Isles, ordered him to be sent to Malmoe Castle, where for several years he occupied the vaulted chamber where the deposed tyrant, Christian II. of Denmark, had been kept. Influenced apparently by a proper sense of justice, Frederick refused to give Bothwell up to either of the Regents who successively usurped the government of Scotland, having good reason to be aware that all of them, except Lennox, were accomplices in the crimes of which they accused him, and that the desire they expressed of bringing him to condign punishment for Darnley's murder was with the view of fabricating and publishing, after his execution, confessions in his name, for the purpose of confirming their calumnious accusations of their unfortunate Queen, as was done by Moray in the case of Nicholas Hubert, *alias* French Paris. Happily for the cause of historic truth,

[1] Bothwell's Memorial, addressed to Frederick II., King of Denmark. Bell's Appendix.

Bothwell was retained by the King of Denmark as a state prisoner till, humbled by a dangerous sickness which brought the terrors of an accusing conscience and remorse for sin, and moved by the pious exhortations of the Lutheran Bishop of Sconen, he made a confession for himself, in the presence of impartial witnesses, acknowledging his share in Darnley's assassination, and exonerating Queen Mary from any participation in the crime;[1] but of this in the proper order of chronology.

Grange and Tullibardine succeeded in capturing John Hepburn of Bolton, and several others of Bothwell's servants, whom they brought back with them to Edinburgh, where they were subjected to various examinations by torture, but could not be induced to make the slightest deposition tending to criminate the Queen.

[1] Keith's Appendix.

MARY STUART.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SUMMARY.

Queen Mary's captivity at Lochleven Castle continued—Visited by Sir Robert Melville—She asks him to send clothes for herself and ladies, and money—He is unable to do so—Her letter of remonstrance—Items sent to her from her wardrobe—Materials for needlework—Tapestry screen worked by her at Lochleven—Articles of millinery sent to her by Melville—Assembly of the Church demands the cause of her detention in prison—The Regent Moray convenes a secret council to prepare a statement for Parliament—First mention of letters alleged to contain evidence of Mary's guilt—Meeting of Parliament—The voluntary nature of Queen Mary's abdication disputed—A demand that she should be brought there to answer for herself—Seconded by Atholl and Tullibardine—Negatived by Moray's faction—Act passed by Moray's influence approving Queen's detention, and the coronation of her son—Forged letters mentioned as proofs of her guilt not examined or verified—No other evidence cited against the Queen—No witnesses called—She is not permitted to defend herself—Reality of her abduction by Bothwell, and compulsory nature of her marriage to him declared by Act of Parliament, December 20, 1567, and recited to the people from the window of the Tolbooth—Heralds sent by authority of Parliament to proclaim the same at Lochleven—Execution of six accomplices in Darnley's murder—Their dying declarations of the Queen's innocence—Mary's dangerous illness.

IMMEDIATELY after her illegitimate brother had taken possession of the government, under the title of Lord Regent of Scotland, Queen Mary received a visit, in her prison at Lochleven, from her former Lord Chamberlain, Sir Robert Melville.[1] His ostensible errand was to deliver to her four ells of a manufacture described in the record as

[1] Examination of Sir Robert Melville. Hopetoun MSS., General Register House.

"fine black of the *seil*," also one ell of fine black velvet which my Lord Regent had generously permitted to be abstracted for her use from her costly wardrobe stores in Edinburgh Castle. His real business was to win her confidence by a few small courtesies and abundance of fair words. The royal captive, who was at that time destitute not only of the luxuries and conveniences to which she had been accustomed, but actually in want of shoes and wearing apparel, took the opportunity of asking him to procure a few necessaries for herself and her ladies, who were in no less distress. She gave him an inventory of these requisitions, which he promised to obtain for her, together with a small supply of money for her minor privy-purse expenses. He promised, however, more than he was able to perform, and Mary, after waiting several days in fruitless expectation, sent the following curious missive to him, on the 3d of September, by some nameless friend in the castle who was going to Edinburgh, possibly George Douglas.

"ROBERT MELWYNE.—Ye shall not fail to send with this bearer to me half-ell of *incarnatt* satin and half-ell of *blew* satin; also cause Servais my *Concierge* send me more twined silk gif there rests any, and sewing gold, and sewing silver; also ane doublet and skirts of white satin, ane other incarnat, ane other of black satin, and the skirts with them. Send na skirt with the red doublet. Also ane loose gown of taffateis; also ye shall send the gown and the other clothes that I bade the Lady Lethington *gar* send me. Also ye shall not fail to send my maidens' clothes, for they are naked, and marvel ye have not sent them since your departing fra me, together with the *camaraige* (cambric) and linen cloth whereof I gave you ane memorial; and gif the *schone* (shoes) be not ready made, cause send them with some other after. Also ye shall cause Servais send twa pair sheets, with twa ounce black sewing silk; also cause him to send me all the dry damask plums that he has, together with the pears he has; this ye shall not fail to do. Ye shall cause make ane dozen of raising needles and moulds, and send me. And speir at Servais gif he has any other covering of beds *to* me *nor grein*,[1] and send me to put under the tother covering. I marvel ye forget to send me silver, conform to promise."[2]

She might easily have guessed from what quarter the difficulty of obtaining money for her use proceeded. The only portion of her royal revenues Mary received is thus noted in the Exchequer Records: "Item, the 23d day of

[1] For me than green.
[2] From the Melville Papers, in the family archives of the Earl of Leven.

October, to my Lord Regent's Grace, to give the Queen's Majesty in Lochleven, 100£,"[1]—pounds Scots probably. More than a fifth of that sum was allowed by my Lord Regent for the entertainment of a very humble member of the royal household, as appears by the following entry: "Item, the 5th day of February, to Nichola the *fule* and her keeper, xx£. xviij^{s}."[2]

Melville subsequently confessed "that he conveyed a ticket from the Queen to the keeper of her wardrobe, Servais de Condé, willing him to deliver into his hands, for her use, the three gowns and other things that were in the cabinet, which he did receive, and subscribed an acknowledgment of the same in the wardrobe inventory."[3] The Earl of Moray, however, looking very sharply after his royal sister's personal property, came to Sir Robert Melville's house and insisted "on seeing what *graith* belonging to the Queen he had got there." Among these were a knot of pearls and a piece of gold weighing twenty ducats, which he forbade him to deliver.[4] Nevertheless, after several days' deliberation, he allowed them to be sent to her Majesty. George Douglas was the bearer, and to him the Queen gave the knot of pearls, and endeavoured to propitiate his covetous mother, the Lady Douglas of Lochleven, by propining her with the lump of gold.[5] The dresses were doubtless of greater value, for it was not till the following year, when Queen Mary was at Bolton Castle, and had employed Queen Elizabeth's powerful interference in order to obtain a supply of apparel from her own wardrobe stores in Scotland, that the good Regent Moray could be induced to part with the said three gowns which she had vainly required to be sent her at Lochleven.[6]

Mossman, the royal goldsmith, more honest, restored to his royal mistress a gold chain set with small diamonds, which she had given him to convert into some other ornament.[7] Aware that she would have more need of the gold and diamonds than of decorations, he returned

[1] In the General Register House, Edinburgh. [2] Ibid.
[3] Hopetoun MSS. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid.
[7] Illustrations of Queen Mary and King James. Maitland Club.

them in a broken state. She obtained through Melville's intervention, on another occasion, "two ells of Holland linen to make trousers, six coverchiefs worked with silk and gold thread; a dozen of handkerchiefs worked with gold and silk, in different patterns; a dozen knitted collars, four thousand pins, an *etui* furnished with combs; a ball of soap, in the form of an apple, to wash her hands; and a small square of blue taffaty corded with silver, full of perfumed powder."[1]

Among other requisitions for her work-table, Mary received several packets of silks, of all shades and colours, four hanks of gold thread, the same of silver thread, together with needles and moulds for "raising," a species of embossed embroidery much in vogue among the ladies of the sixteenth century. The favourite occupation with which the royal captive beguiled the tedium of her prison hours, was the composition of devices for pictorial needlework, in which she greatly excelled.

The best authenticated, as well as the most curious of all the numerous specimens attributed to the skilful and industrious fingers of Mary Stuart, is the ancient worked tapestry which covers a folding screen in the possession of the Earl of Morton, at Dalmahoy House, having been derived, with other heirlooms, from his chivalric ancestor George Douglas. Not only does the family tradition declare it to be the identical work with which Mary beguiled some of the weary hours she was doomed to spend within the walls of Lochleven Castle, and left unfinished at her hasty retreat, but evidence may be gathered from the thing itself, that this was actually the case. Under these circumstances, it is an historical relic of sufficient interest to claim a particular description. It is wrought with coloured wools in fine tent stitch on canvass, of precisely the same fabric as that used by ladies of our own times for that kind of work; it is about twelve yards in length, but in separate breadths, arranged one above another, on a high folding frame to form a screen. Whether it was divided for this purpose, or originally worked in distinct pieces by the Queen and the faithful companions of her

[1] Illustrations of Queen Mary and King James. Maitland Club.

Screen worked by Queen Mary and her Companions in Lochleven Castle.

durance, Mary Seton, Jane Kennedy, and Marie Courcelles, it is impossible to say. The design is most elaborate, being a succession of pictorial groups of ladies and gentlemen dressed in the costume of the period, and richly decorated with rings, brooches, and chains. The jewels are worked in glazed flax thread, in satin stitch, and the pearls indicated by white dots. The ladies, who are greatly in the majority, are attired in fardingales and ruffs, and have fans in their hands. Each breadth contains three or four distinct tableaux, with crowded backgrounds, where castles, gardens, bowers, terraces, rivers, mountains, and skies are interspersed with dogs, birds, butterflies, and reptiles, with about the same regard to the rules of perspective and relative proportions as the landscapes and figures on a china bowl. The drawing of the figures is, however, good, the action animated, and the shading artistical, although the colours are faded by time. Some of the animals, especially the dogs, are wonderfully well executed; but the butterflies are nearly as large as the birds, and a swan occasionally rejoices in a peacock's tail and gay plumage. Allegorical allusions to certain individuals in the Courts of Scotland and England, with significant strokes of satire, unintelligible now to the uninitiated, were probably intended by these quaint conceits, in accordance with the metaphorical taste of the age in which Spenser wrote the "Faerie Queen." Sir Walter Scott, after examining the screen, confessed himself fairly puzzled, and unable to make out the story, and fancied it must be from some old ballad, or French or Italian romance. But the subject seems to be an allegorical illustration of the ill-fated loves of Mary herself and Darnley, the opposition to their union by Queen Elizabeth, her determined hostility to both, and his tragical death.

> "Fair Philomela, she but lost her tongue,
> And on a tedious sampler sewed her mind."

Mary Stuart, isolated within the gloomy walls of a wave-encircled prison, and cut off from communication with her

friends, appears in like manner, with skilful needle, to have depicted the story of her wrongs, and the relentless malice of her powerful foe. It is to be observed, however, that the tapestry is in a decidedly fragmentary state, without either beginning or end, and that the first and last figures have been sewn on. Intermediate tableaux, serving to explain the rest more clearly, have possibly been destroyed by accidental causes, or omitted in covering the screen, a use to which it certainly was not applied while Queen Mary was at Lochleven, as she left it unfinished at the time of her escape, of which the work bears evidence, the canvass being in many places bare, showing the pattern traced in outline ready to receive the stitches.

The first figure is a princely gallant in cap and plume, very gaily dressed and decorated, seated in a *fauteuil*, with his faithful dog reposing at his feet. His feet appear to spring from the flowers called *Reine Marguerite*, as if to typify maternal descent from the two royal Margarets, Margaret Tudor and Margaret Countess of Lennox, through whom Darnley claimed his perilously near place in the English succession. He is playing on the guitar to a fair lady royally habited, evidently intended for Mary herself, who is accompanying him on the virginals. That ancient instrument is delineated with graphical correctness, with its double row of white and black keys, the open board, harp-like arrangement of strings, and little jacks or sounding-hammers, some of which are raised in the act of obeying the impulse of the keys the fingers of the royal musician are touching—a very minute and artistical portion of the work. It is to be remarked that the figure apparently representing Mary herself (which is several times repeated) is distinguished, not only by her peculiar costume, but her favourite badge of the white rose and the red, even when wearing the diadem and *fleur-de-lis* studded robe of a Queen of France, which she does in one of the tableaux. In another, she is seated on a throne under a canopy of state, with Cupid perched on a fountain at her feet. One of her pretty little dogs is sporting near her among the

flowers; while a toad regards her with watchful malignity from under a leaf, and a hostile Queen sternly menaces the lover, who stands with one hand on his breast and the other extended in an imploring attitude. A dead peacock and partridges are scattered on the ground near him, and he is about to put his foot unaware on a serpent's tail. He is subsequently represented pleading to Mary for money, holding out his left hand beseechingly, while he insinuates his right into the ample *aumonière* which depends from her girdle.

The most inexplicable design in the whole series of tableaux is that of a gentleman seated in a *fauteuil*, supported in the arms of an attendant, and about to undergo the amputation of his foot, apparently by the command of the hostile Queen. The grim executioner has rolled the luckless gallant's rose-coloured stocking down, placed his leg on a block, and having fitted a saw just above his ankle, looks up to her as if for orders to commence, while the younger and fairer Queen is earnestly supplicating in his behalf. In the last scene, the hero of the piece is discovered lying dead on the grass, with an arrow in his temple, while a crowned female in the clouds is aiming a deadly shaft at Mary, who, already sorely wounded with an arrow in her shoulder, stands with folded hands and drooping head, looking down on the murdered man in mingled consternation and despair. One of her ladies spreads out her arms with lively manifestations of surprise and terror, and appears about to flee from the spot. In the background, the unfortunate pair lie dead together under a tree in an orchard. Whatever diversity of opinions may be entertained in regard to the subjects of the other groups, of which the most striking only are particularised, this is perfectly intelligible, as marking Mary's suspicion of the quarter whence the mysterious blow proceeded which had destroyed her unfortunate consort, involving, as she too truly anticipated, her own destruction as its sequel.

During the first months of her captivity at Lochleven, Mary made pathetic entreaties to be indulged with the solace of her infant's company, or even to be permitted to see him

for an hour, but in vain. She fondly directed that various articles from her rich wardrobe stores should be sent to Stirling Castle for his use; but the difficulties and demurs that were made to a request so simple and natural may be inferred from the inedited letter of Sir Robert Melville to the Laird of Lochleven, "begging him to apologise to her Majesty for his long delay in fulfilling her desire, but if she would write to him with her own hand the list of the things she would have sent, he would undertake it should be done."[1]

The natural terrors of the bereaved mother for the safety of her babe were turned to her reproach. She was accustomed to say "she had a presentiment his days would not be long;" and this was construed into an earnest desire for his death by the libellous pen of Buchanan.

In the month of September Sir Robert Melville delivered the following items for the use of his captive Queen: "Six pairs of Holland sheets, a pair of crimson satin sleeves, a pair of black satin, and a pair of white satin, edged with a double border of silver Guipure lace, and another four thousand pins." In October she received "five of her collars, worked with gold thread, a velvet hood, one made of gold crape and two of silver crape, some Holland sleeves, a crimson velvet roll fastened with gold cordons full of silks of various shades, and more needles and moulds for raised work." In November she obtained "a little clock with a *réveille-matin*, or alarum, to awaken her at a certain hour. Four thousand more pins, nine ells and a half of Holland to make her Majesty six pairs of drawers, six pairs of hose, twelve linen covrechefs, and twelve Holland pocket-handkerchiefs."[2] These details, even if deemed beneath the dignity of history, possess biographical and antiquarian value, and serve to fill up the outlines of the previously imperfect narratives of Mary Stuart's compulsory abode in Lochleven Castle, with facts illustrative of her dress and occupations at a period when, a Queen no longer, except in name, she excites more

[1] Register House MSS.

[2] "Habillements envoyés à la Royne d'Escosses"—Illustrations of Queen Mary and King James. Maitland Club Miscellany.

than ordinary interest as a woman. Deprived of the glittering externals of regality, the pomp and homage that had attended her from her birth, stripped of her jewels and rich array, bereaved of her child, oppressed, calumniated, and a prisoner, we see her afflicted but not abased, suffering both in mind and body, but supporting her trials with that noble courage and devout reliance on the help of God which nothing but the consciousness of her integrity could have inspired. In proud reliance, also, on the justice of her country, she desired to submit her cause to Parliament,[1] challenging thereby such a scrutiny of her conduct as no guilty woman would have dared to risk. Had she really been so, her accusers would not have hesitated to subject her to that test.

It was not, however, till Mary had been languishing in prison six months, that the Regent Moray ventured to convene a Parliament in the name of her infant son. He maintained a greater military force than any sovereign of Scotland had ever presumed to introduce into Edinburgh as a standing army, and had provided himself with money by coining the Queen's plate and debasing the currency. He had in the mean time made himself master of the most considerable places in the realm, and by bribes and promises so strengthened his party as to insure a majority on any point he might desire to carry.

The General Assembly of the Church met early in December, and the first question in behalf of the captive Queen emanated from this body in the form of a petition to the Regent and Lords of Parliament,[2] demanding the cause of her detention at Lochleven, and requiring that, if no sufficient reason were given, she should be set at liberty.

[1] Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth—State Paper Office MSS., July, 1567.

[2] In the following words: "This present Assembly, considering the detention of the Queen's Grace in the house of Lochleven, no manifest declaration made of the occasion thereof, wherefore they, as a member of the commonweal of this realm, not only for themselves, but also in name of the common people thereof, most humbly desires the Lord Regent and Estates of Parliament, to open and make manifest to them and to the people the cause of the detention of the Queen's Grace in the said house, or else to put her to liberty furth of the same."—Cited in Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary, from the original document.

Here, then, was an opportunity for the Regent and Lords of Secret Council to have given their long-delayed explanation to the Church and people of Scotland of the causes which had moved them to violate their fealty to their Sovereign, depose her from her regal office, incarcerate her person in prison, and crown her infant son; acts which ought to have been preceded by a parliamentary investigation of her conduct, that, if proved unworthy of exercising her high functions, she might have been legally superseded. The Lords of Secret Council, being every one of them pardoned traitors, had acted on their own responsibility, by raising a large military force under the pretence of delivering the Queen from Bothwell's cruel thraldom, and having beguiled her into trusting her person in their hands, had thrust her into prison, usurped her government, and crowned, unauthorised by a Parliament, a babe thirteen months of age as a cover for their own ambition. It behoved them, therefore, in self-defence, to bring forward all the evidence they possessed, of a nature to criminate the Queen, in order to justify themselves for proceedings so unconstitutional.

The explanation demanded by the General Assembly of the Church, though not easy to evade, was so much more difficult to give, that no direct answer was returned. It was, however, imperatively necessary for the conspirators to prepare a plausible memorial to lay before the Three Estates of Scotland, to excuse the unauthorised change they had made in the Government. In this emergency the Regent, on the 4th of December, held a council extraordinary, at which none but his confederates, and those who, by taking public part with them in their overt acts of treason, were of necessity bound to support them, were present. The object of this memorable *sederunt* was to take into consideration what answer should be returned, when the question of the causes of the apprehension and detention of the Queen's person should be debated in Parliament. After long deliberation, resolution was taken to accuse the Queen, in direct words, of having procured the murder of her husband in consequence of a guilty passion for the Earl of Bothwell, and intending also to compass that of the infant Prince her son.

As these frightful accusations, though industriously circulated through anonymous channels, had never been openly brought against their unfortunate Queen, such crimes being at variance with the whole tenor of her previous conduct, the conspirators thought it expedient to preface their denunciation with the following professions of affection for her person and tenderness for her reputation. "In so far as the manifestation thereof may tend to the dishonour or disestimation of the Queen they are most loth to enter in, for that love they bear unto her person who sometime was their Sovereign, and for the reverence of his Majesty whose mother she is, as also the many good and excellent gifts and virtues wherewith God sometime endowed her."[1] Could the arch-traitor Judas himself, if possessed of sufficient clerkly skill to have prepared a false accusation in writing, have introduced malicious calumny in more caressing terms? An assurance follows, "that the cause of their taking up arms, and taking of the Queen's person upon the 15th day of June last past, and holding and detaining of the same within the house and place of Lochleven, and all things said and done by them since the 10th of February last, on which day the late King Henry, the Queen's lawful husband, was shamefully and horribly murdered, was all in the said Queen's own default, in as far as by divers her privy letters, written and subscribed with her own hand, and sent by her to James Earl of Bothwell, chief executor of the said horrible murder, as well before the committing thereof as after, and by her ungodly and dishonourable proceeding in a private marriage with him, it is most certain that she was privy art and part of the actual devise and deed of the forementioned murther of the King her lawful husband, committed by the said James Earl of Bothwell, his complices and partakers, and therefore justly deserves whatsoever has been attempted or shall be used toward her for the said cause."[2] The presumptions of her alleged guilt rest solely on the supposititious love-letters to Bothwell, whereof mention was

[1] Goodall's Appendix, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64, 65. Anderson's Collections.
[2] Ibid.

for the first time made in this record of a Secret Council, at which not less than three notorious accomplices in the murder they were endeavouring to charge on her assisted: namely, the Lord-Chancellor Morton, whom the tardy justice of his country, fourteen years later, doomed to pay the penalty of his guilt on the scaffold; Sir James Balfour, by whom the bond for the slaughter of the Queen's husband was drawn, who had paid for sixty pounds of the powder deposited in the house of his brother Robert Balfour, the Provost of Kirk-of-Field, and had been granted pardon and full remission for the deed by the Regent Moray; and Sir William Maitland, Lord of Lethington, by whose specious pen the act of council, imputing the crime perpetrated by himself and his confederates to his royal mistress, was drawn. There, too, among the subscribers, may be seen the names of Adam Bishop of Orkney, the only minister either of the old faith or the Presbyterian who had been found willing to unite the Queen in marriage to Bothwell; Henry Balnaves, the veteran secret-service-man of England, and the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, who, after by ruffian threats compelling the defenceless captive to sign deeds of abdication and commissions of regency, falsely drawn in her name, had sworn in the face of God and the people "that she had done so of her own free will, and that her demission of the Crown was voluntary," — witnesses who had committed perjury that would, in any court of justice, throw suspicion on evidence to which they appeared as parties. The motives of the whole conclave for maligning their Queen were indeed obvious; they had gone too far to recede, and felt that either she must be crushed, or themselves left in danger of the pains and penalties of treason.

The Parliament met on the 15th of December in the Tolbooth, and was opened with all accustomed forms, except the presence of the Sovereign, or any person legally commissioned to act in her name. The guilty Morton presided as Lord-Chancellor, and the crown was carried by his nephew, the Earl of Angus, a boy of twelve years old, who took his seat among the Earls, and

strengthened the faction adverse to the Queen with his vote and influence. Lethington announced the "Queen's abdication and voluntary demission of the Crown to her son, and her appointment of her dearest brother, the Earl of Moray, to the regency," enlarging, in a long and plausible speech, on the great benefit to the cause of true religion which this happy change had effected and would establish;" this being, as he well knew, the most prevailing argument that could be used. The Queen's deposition and imprisonment were, however, warmly discussed. Lord Herries and others of her friends having condescended to take their places in this Parliament convened by Moray, for the purpose of advocating the cause of their royal mistress, protested "that the coronation of the infant Prince was invalid, and so far from being, as pretended, in accordance with her pleasure, was in direct opposition to her will, as would be found on inquiry; therefore it was demanded that her Majesty might be brought there in person, in order that she might speak freely and without constraint before her lieges."[1] It was required also, in her name, "that a proper inquiry should be made touching the pretended crimes with which she was aspersed, since she ought not to be accused in a public assembly without being permitted to defend herself, either personally or by her advocates." The Earl of Athöll and the Laird of Tullibardine, although both had taken an active part in the conspiracy against the Queen, seconded this request on her part, she having found means to send a private message to them that it was her earnest desire it should be so; but the motion was overruled by the predominant faction.[2] But why, it may be asked, should this equitable request have been denied by the Regent Moray and his supporters? If the Queen were really guilty, it was not only their duty, but their interest to prove her so. The odds were clearly in their favour, and they had the power of citing as witnesses all the ladies of her bedchamber, among whom were the wives of several

[1] Lesley's Negotiations. Queen Mary's Instructions to her Commissioners at York. Goodall's Appendix, 344. Queen Mary's Memorial—An Appeal to all Christian Princes. Teulet's Collections—Pièces et Documens relatifs des Affaires d'Escosse. [2] Ibid.

of the leading members of the conspiracy; for instance, the Countesses of Mar and Moray, and Lady Lethington, one of the Maries who had been associated in the most intimate friendship with the Queen from infancy. There also was Lady Buccleuch, whose name had been publicly placarded as an accomplice in Darnley's murder, and her sister Lady Reres, whom Buchanan subsequently accused of being the confidant of the alleged amour.[1] Why were they not interrogated before the Parliament on the subject? Last, not least in importance as a witness, Bothwell's sister, Lady Coldingham, the widow of Mary's deceased brother, ought to have been examined, for she was the only lady in attendance on the Queen at the time of her forcible detention by Bothwell at Dunbar Castle. But that not one of these ladies was interrogated on the subject of the Queen's conduct, with regard to Bothwell either before or after her husband's death, ought to convince every rational person that there was nothing of impropriety to be elicited against her; and that for lack of real evidence the conspirators found themselves under the necessity of resorting to forgery and libels, to bolster up their calumnious fiction of an irresistible passion for Bothwell.

Then in regard to her alleged participation in her husband's murder, were not John Hay of Tallo, John Hepburn of Bolton, George Dalgleish, and others of Bothwell's servants, who had acknowledged that they were accomplices in his crime, in prison? And ought not they to have been produced in Parliament, and required to declare all they knew as to the Queen's connection with the plot? But as they subsequently declared her innocence on the scaffold, the reason they were kept out of sight and hearing is sufficiently obvious. Reference to letters, devised for the purpose of criminating her, was far more to the purpose of the conspirators, and this they repeated in their Act of Parliament as the ostensible ground for the declaration "that all that had been done by the Lords of Secret Council was in the Queen's own default." Their description of the letters, however, varies; for in their Act of Secret

[1] In his gross libel, "The Detection."

Council these are affirmed to be "written and subscribed by the Queen's own hand," while in the Act of Parliament they are merely stated to be "written wholly with the Queen's hand"—an important discrepancy; for if they had ever been subscribed, the subscriptions would not have disappeared in the course of eleven days. Not, however, to dwell too strongly on the argument already used with sarcastic pungency by Lesley, Bishop of Ross, and repeated by Whittaker, Goodall, and Tytler, that unsubscribed and undirected letters are nullities, it is only necessary to call attention to the suspicious omission of all testimony and attestation respecting the manner in which the letters discovered by the conspirators came into their possession.

The tale finally promulgated through their literary organ Buchanan shall be given in his own words. "That in the Castle of Edinburgh there was left by the Earl of Bothwell, before his fleeing away, and was sent for by one George Dalgleish, his servant, who was taken by the Earl of Morton, a small gilt coffer, with the Roman letter F under a king's crown, wherein certain letters, well known, and by oaths, *to be* affirmed to have been written with the Queen of Scots' own hand to the Earl of Bothwell. Besides these writings, there was also extant a writing, written in Roman hand, in French, *to be* avowed to be written by the said Queen of Scots herself, being a promise of marriage to the said Bothwell."[1]

The improbability of Bothwell leaving them behind, when he carried his plate and personal papers of far less importance from Edinburgh Castle to Dunbar, and even to Norway, in a portfolio secured with several locks, is glaring. It must also be obvious that had Morton got possession of such a prize, he being the most subtle of men, and the highest law-lord in the realm withal, would have seen the importance of turning it immediately into evidence against the Queen, by giving the utmost publicity to its capture, and causing a schedule of the papers to be made and attested. Now, although this would not have proved that Mary really

[1] Memorandum at the end of the Detection. Anderson's Collections. Goodall's Appendix, p. 534.

wrote the absurd fictions in question, it would have lent something more like probability to the story, by the adoption of regular proceedings. But there is not the slightest evidence to prove that Bothwell ever sent for the casket; that Sir James Balfour, the last person in the world to whom he would have sent, delivered it; or that Morton really captured it. There are no allusions to it in Dalgleish's examinations or depositions. No schedule of the contents of the casket was recited either in the minute of Council or the Act of Parliament, nor is the casket itself mentioned as the receptacle of the letters till nine months later, when it makes its appearance for the first time, with the addition of contracts, sonnets, and love-ballads, before a small select coterie of confederates in the Secret Council of September 16, 1568, in the "discharge granted by the Regent Moray to the Earl of Morton for a small silver box overgilt with gold, with all missive letters, contracts, or obligations for marriage, sonnets, or love-ballads contained therein, sent and past betwixt the Queen and James, sometime Earl Bothwell; which box, and whole pieces within the same, were taken and found, with *umquhile* (the late) George Dalgleish, servant to the said Earl Bothwell, upon the 20th day of June, the year of God 1567;"[1] adding—a bold assertion for any one who was not in Scotland for more than six weeks after the date assigned for the capture—"that the Earl of Morton had truly and honestly kept the writings contained in that box ever since they came into his possession, without alteration, augmentation, or diminution."[2]

Neither sonnets nor love-ballads were alluded to, either in the Act of Privy Council, December 4, 1567, when the supposititious letters were first mentioned and described as "written and *subscribed* by the Queen's own hand," nor in the Act of Indemnity for the Lords of Secret Council eleven days later, where the description of the letters differs in the material point of not being subscribed —a legal objection which the production of the contracts

[1] Anderson. Keith. Goodall. [2] Ibid.

might have assisted to overcome. But as neither "contracts, sonnets, nor love-ballads" were enumerated, much less produced, at that all-important crisis, when everything that could be construed into evidences of the Queen's guilt was required to justify the treatment she had received, they were clearly the result of after-thought, a forged appendix to the original forgery of the letters.

It is a startling feature in the transaction, too, that neither the alleged contents of the letters nor the love-verses were published in Scotland at all, till long after they had been exhibited to the English Commissioners and their Sovereign. Who can believe that, if such letters had really been written by Mary, and had fallen into the hands of the conspirators on the 20th of June 1567, they would have continued, in their acts of council, manifestoes, and even in their letter to Throckmorton of the 26th of July, to speak of Bothwell as her ravisher, instead of blazoning the proofs of her complicity to the world? Neither is it credible that the Parliament, if letters from the Queen to Bothwell had been exhibited on the 15th of December, convicting her of urging him to affect a forcible abduction of her person, would, on the 20th of the same month, have couched their act for his forfeiture in terms containing her full and perfect vindication from the slightest collusion: "Besetting her," recites the Act, "with a thousand armed men, equipped in manner of war, in the month of April last, she suspecting no evil from any of her subjects, and least of all from the Earl of Bothwell."[1] The outrage having occurred too near Edinburgh, and too recently to allow of a public misrepresentation being made with impunity, "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," was thus published to the people. The heralds made proclamation of the Act, with sound of trumpets, from the windows of the Hall of Parliament in the Tolbooth, at the Market Cross, and other popular stations in Edinburgh, and afterwards "at the gates of all Bothwell's castles and

[1] The reader is referred to the preceding volume (V.) of Lives of the Queens of Scotland, pp. 271-275.

dwelling-houses, with six knocks, and summonses for him to *compear* before the Parliament to underlie the law." Nor was this all, for the report of the proclaiming herald certifies that, "in obedience to the behest of the Parliament, he proceeded, with his assistants, to Lochleven Castle,[1] where, in like manner, he recited and made due proclamation of the act of forfeiture and outlawry against the said Earl of Bothwell, his accomplices and partakers, for the high and horrible treasons of having devised and perpetrated the murder of King Henry, the husband of the Queen our sovereign Lord's dearest mother; and also for besetting her Highness, on her way from Stirling to Edinburgh, with a thousand men in warlike array, putting violent hands on her most noble person, not permitting her to enter her own town of Edinburgh in peace, but carried her the same night, *against her will*, to the Castle of Dunbar, and there detained her as his prisoner about twelve days, and, under circumstances such as might have befallen the most courageous woman in the world, compelled her to promise to become his wife. Then leading her, still as his prisoner, to Edinburgh Castle, he detained her there till he constrained her to contract an unlawful marriage with him."[2] The ancient customs of Scotland required the forfeiture and outlawry of any great peer of Parliament, together with the reasons thereof, to be announced at any place where the Sovereign was personally present; and as Lethington had secured the grant of that rich and long-contested portion of Bothwell's spoils, the abbey-lands of Haddington, adjoining his own estates, Morton the office of Lord Admiral of Scotland, and other members of the party shares of his large appanages and hereditaments, it was expedient to legalise the act of forfeiture, by compliance with the minutest points of the law, and reciting all his crimes and treasons, even at the expense of justifying the Queen, and virtually acknowledging her authority.

[1] See the Record in Acta Parliamentorum, Register House, Edinburgh, signed and attested by James Makgill, Clerk-Register.
[2] Ibid.

Thus did the royal captive enjoy the melancholy satisfaction of hearing with her own ears the declaration of even the adverse portion of the Three Estates of Parliament, convened by the authority of the usurping Earl of Moray, "that in her marriage with Bothwell she had been the victim of circumstances she had had no power of resisting." What better apology could the most eloquent of her advocates have made for her conduct in that unhappy business, unless, in addition to the statement of the predicament in which she was placed, calling attention to the fact that upwards of twenty of the nobles sitting in that Parliament had, on the 20th of the preceding April, four days only before Bothwell "put violent hands on her person," signed a bond engaging to accomplish her marriage with him, and therefore, she seeing herself foredoomed by so powerful a combination of her peers and privy councillors to become his wife, and unnerved by the successive assassinations of her secretary and her husband, broken in health and spirits, and unable to protect herself and infant son, yielded to the direst oppression that ever crushed a young helpless woman?

If Mary suffered herself to imagine that the promulgation of the Act for the forfeiture and outlawry of Bothwell, with the recital of the treasons and outrages he had perpetrated against her, and the acknowledgment of her inability to resist his lawless will, was the prelude to her restoration to freedom and to empire, she was the more deceived. It was a mere matter of business, to legalise his forfeitures; justice to her was out of the question. The exciting pageant of the herald's visit to the islet of Lochleven passed away like a dream, leaving—when the last gleam of the scarlet and gold tabards, and the blazonry of the lion-banner at the prow of their barge, vanished from the expanse of rough blue waters through which the rowers cut their way to the low-lying shore of Kinross—no visible traces that such an event had interrupted the monotony of that lonely little world. No visible traces there; but the fact stands legibly chronicled in the records of Moray's first Parliament,

attested by the hand of Queen Mary's deadly foe, James Makgill, the Clerk-Register,[1] to confute the false witness of her accusers by the testimony of their own act, which so fully demonstrates that the letters they pretended she wrote to Bothwell, to urge him to enterprise her abduction, were fabrications. Moreover, their previous act "anent the Queen's retention in prison,"[2] where the said letters are mentioned as containing proofs that she had been enthralled by a blind passion for Bothwell, and thus incited to the commission of other crimes therein imputed to her, is virtually abrogated by the declarations in this, which passed five days later,[3] showing that the Queen was the victim of lawless violence combined with treachery; a statement corroborated too sadly by the evidence of her agony and threats of self-destruction the morning after her woeful wedding-day with her ravisher, such demonstrations being incompatible with love.

No amelioration in the Queen's condition followed the proclamation of the Act reciting the real circumstances under which the daring traitor Bothwell had made his tiger-spring upon her, and succeeded in dragging her to his den. She was doomed to wear away the dreary months of the long Scotch winter within the gloomy fortress of Lochleven, in the midst of a cold expanse of waters which, when augmented by rains or floods from the mountain-torrents, washed the basement of the tower in which she was confined.

While despairing of redress from Moray's parliament, Mary found means to write the following touching appeal to her royal mother-in-law of France:—

"LOCHLEVEN (*undated*).

"MADAME,—I write to you at the same time as to the King your son, and by the same bearer, to beseech you both to have pity upon me. I am now fully convinced that it is by force alone I can be delivered. If you send never so few troops to countenance the matter, I am certain great numbers of my subjects will rise to join them; but without that they are

[1] See the Report in Acta Parliamentorum, General Register House, Edinburgh.

[2] Acta Parliamentorum, Dec. 15, 1567.

[3] Ibid. Dec. 20.

overawed by the force of the rebels, and dare attempt nothing of themselves. The miseries I endure are more than I once believed it was in the power of human sufferance to sustain and live. Give credit to this messenger, who can tell you all. I have no opportunity to write but while my jailers are at dinner. Have compassion, I conjure you, on my wretched condition, and may God pour on you all the blessings you can desire.

"Your ever dutiful, though most wretched and afflicted daughter,

"M. R.

"From my prison, to Madame, the Queen of France, my mother-in-law."

Her faithful servant, John Beton, who continued to hover near Lochleven in disguise, conveyed letters from Mary more than once to the Court of France, and brought replies.

"The Queen my sovereign, your niece," writes Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, to Cardinal de Lorraine, "is in good health, thanks to God, and bears her adverse and bitter fortune with great patience, without having any relaxation. Although some things to the contrary have been written from England, she has not been allowed any liberty beyond what she had in the commencement of her captivity; and, as my brother informs me, 'she has disposed herself to the service of God more devoutly, and with greater diligence, than for some time previously she has been accustomed,' wherein I greatly rejoice."[1] Then adverting to the state of her cause in Scotland, he laments "that the Queen's party, though numerous, had not a proper chief, being destitute of any person of ability as a leader." Among other curious notices on Scotch affairs, he says, "The Earl of Moray is meditating a persecution of the Archbishop of St Andrews, under the pretext of his having been concerned in the murder of Darnley;" also, that "Moray had sent a person to the Prince de Condé and the Admiral Coligny, for the express purpose of entreating them to devise means of making him quit of the Duke of Châtelherault, either by poison or otherways, as the said Duke had reported."[2]

[1] February 6, 1568—Stevenson's Illustrations, p. 305.
[2] Ibid., p. 306.

But the most important information communicated in this letter of Queen Mary's representative at the Court of France to her uncle is the intelligence he had just received (apparently from the son of the Duke of Châtelherault), "that certain of Bothwell's servants who were condemned to die for assisting in the murder of her consort, having demanded the favour of being heard by the Earl of Moray, had acknowledged the justice of their sentence, but declared the innocence of the Queen, and denounced the principal and leading members of the Council as accomplices, namely, the Earl of Morton, the Secretary Lethington, Balfour, who was captain of Edinburgh Castle, and the Earl of Bothwell, their master, then in Denmark."[1] The trials and executions of John Hepburn of Bolton, John Hay of Tallo, William Powrie, and George Dalgleish, took place on the 3d of January.[2] Placards and satirical poems, intimating that these subordinate agents were about to be hurried out of life, to prevent them from revealing the share criminals of greater importance than themselves had had in the tragedy, were affixed on the doors of the Council Chamber, and on the walls of Moray House. One of these significantly inquired, "Why John Hepburn and John Hay of Tallo were not compelled openly to declare the manner of the King's slaughter, and who consented thereunto?"[3] But, with cruel and indecent haste, they were executed the same day they were tried.

The words of John Hepburn's dying speech and confession, in vindication of the Queen, are thus recorded in the

[1] February 6, 1568—Stevenson's Illustrations, p. 307.

[2] It is worthy of remark that the forfeiture of John Hepburn of Bolton was appropriated by Lethington, in the very centre of whose lands his patrimony lay, and, like Naboth's vineyard, was obtained by the death of the rightful owner under an accusation of treason. The goodly heritage of Patrick Whitlaw, who was included in the Act for Bothwell's forfeiture, became the prey of the Earl of Morton. Whitlaw was the husband of Morton's sister-in-law, Elizabeth Hamilton, Countess-Dowager of Angus, the niece of the Duke of Châtelherault, and widow of David, Earl of Angus. The dower rents of this lady, who was suitably jointured on the Douglas lands, were one of the causes of Whitlaw's ruin. A startling light is cast on these mysterious tragedies of Scottish history by tracing the forfeited property to the recipient parties.

[3] Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 171. State Paper MS., Border Correspondence, January 1567-1568.

contemporary chronicle of Belforest:[1] "John Hepburn, the domestic servant of the Earl of Bothwell, immediately before his sentence was executed, for being concerned in the atrocious treason of the murder of the late Lord Darnley, confessed in the presence of all the people, by whom the same was heard, the innocence of the Queen his sovereign lady, protesting it before God and his angels, whom he called upon to witness what he said, and praying that, if he lied, it might be to the eternal ruin and perdition of his soul. 'I declare,' said he, 'that Moray and Morton were the sole contrivers, movers, and counsellors of Bothwell in the commission of this murder, and that they have assisted in all the enterprises and conspiracies formed against Lord Darnley, and exhorted the Earl my master not to hesitate to execute boldly a deed so necessary for all the nobles of Scotland. I confess to have had knowledge of this, not only by word of mouth from my lord, 'with whom they were associated in it, and who assured me they would bear him out in it,' but by the letters and indentures signed by both of them, which he showed me, and I have seen and read them myself, setting forth and describing the whole plot.' These were his last words, on the truth of which he perilled the salvation of his soul."

"Powrie, John Hay of Tallo, Dalgleish, and others, being led out to suffer at the same time, under the like accusation, denounced the 'great and abominable wickedness of Moray, who had made no scruple of procuring the murder of the King, and yet persecuted to the death those who had been his instruments, under the pretext of avenging the deed; but God was just, and rightly punished them for what they had done, by bringing them to this end, but the Queen was innocent of the deed.' They also declared 'that they had not read the depositions to which they had been compelled to set their hands, and desired to warn the people, in case anything hereafter should be set forth to the disadvantage of her Majesty as if from their avowals, that it would be an imposition; for though they had been ex-

[1] Innocens de la Royne d'Escosse,—printed in the year 1572. Published in Jebb's Collections.

amined by severe infliction of torture, under which they had made full acknowledgment of their own crimes, and had then been promised their lives if they would bear witness against her Majesty, they had been preserved from the guilt of falsely accusing their good and virtuous Queen of being participant in that iniquity.'"[1]

These facts, so notorious at the time, were, as a matter of course, otherwise represented by the faction in power and their hireling chroniclers, but they did not escape the attention of the sarcastic contemporary poet, who wrote under the quaint *alias* of Tom Treuth, and commemorated the circumstance in the following rugged rhymes, which were deemed of sufficient importance to be suppressed by Cecil, with the rest of his poem, "as being in favour of the Queen of Scots." The first couplet exposes the artful policy of the conspirators by whom the assassination of Darnley and the deposition of the Queen were accomplished :—

"For they, to seem more innocent of this most heinous deed,
Did forthwith catch four murderers, and put to death with speed;
As Hepburn, Dalgleish, Powry too, John Hay made up the mess;
Which four, when they were put to death, the treason did confess,
And said that Moray, Morton too, with others of that rout,
Were guilty of that murder vile, though now they look so stout.
Yet some perchance may think that I speak for affection here,
Though I would so, three thousand can herein true witness bear,
Who present were as well as I at the execution time,
And heard how these, in conscience prickt, confessed who did the crime."[2]

Mary herself did not fail, as soon as she had the opportunity of doing so, to call attention, in her "Appeal to all Christian Princes," to the fact that "three out of six unfortunate persons who were put to death by Moray for this crime, as they were going to the scaffold, exonerated her from all blame, but declared the guilt of the Earl of Moray, and persevered in this to the death, without change or variation in their statements, of the truth of which the whole realm of Scotland can testify, which puts the innocence of her Majesty beyond all doubt; nevertheless she has been

[1] Innocens de la Royne d'Escosse,—printed in the year 1572. Published in Jebb's Collections.

[2] State Paper MS., 1568, December.

detained almost a year in prison, with what treatment God knows."[1]

The painful and dangerous illness which attacked Queen Mary early in February, being exactly nine months from the period of her compulsory abode in Dunbar Castle, has given a delusive colour to the tradition which nearly a century later was mentioned by La Laboreur in his notes and additions to Castelnau,[2] "that she was brought to bed of a daughter at Lochleven, who, being privately transported to France, became a nun in the convent of Soissons." Mary's indisposition was evidently an attack of her constitutional maladies, liver and heart complaints, aggravated by want of exercise, the dampness of the situation, so little suited for the mid-winter abode of a delicately organised Princess; and more than all, the mental sufferings she had gone through during the last dreadful year. Her symptoms are thus briefly described by Sir William Drury in a letter to Cecil:[3] "It may please you to be advertised that the Queen hath been of late troubled with a disease in her side, and a swelling in her arm, of whose sickness there ariseth divers bruits and reports in Scotland."

[1] Printed in Teulet's Collections, vol. ii., in French; and in Labanoff, vol. vii., in Italian, from the Archives di Medici.

[2] Jebb's Collections.

[3] Border Correspondence, 11 Feb. 1567-1568. State Paper Office MS. Inedited.

MARY STUART.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

SUMMARY.

Continuation of Queen Mary's imprisonment at Lochleven—Sympathy excited in her favour—George Douglas's efforts for her deliverance—Various projects for taking her from the Island—Betrayed by Drysdale—George Douglas expelled from the Island—The Earl of Moray's Visit to Queen Mary—Angry scene between her and him—Projects for her marriage to the Lord of Arbroath—Other suitors named—Mary attempts to escape in the disguise of her laundress's weeds—Discovered and brought back—Increased rigour of her confinement—Her melancholy letters—Her despondency—Tempted to throw herself into the Loch—Her prayer for resignation—The lad Willie Douglas offers to effect her deliverance—He carries her messages and tokens to George, who sends them to her friends—New French Ambassador sent to demand her restoration—He is not allowed to see her—Sir Robert Melville visits her—Her melancholy May-day—Writes at night by stealth to Catherine de Medici, imploring aid; and to Queen Elizabeth—Willie Douglas steals the keys of the Castle—Particulars of her escape—Joyful meeting with her loyal friends—Rides to the coast with them—Embarks in an open boat—Lands at South Queensferry—Met by the Hamiltons—Conveyed to West Niddry Castle—Sleeps there—Her cheering *réveille*—Addresses the loyal gathering from the window—She is conducted in triumph to Hamilton.

THERE is not any circumstance in the personal history of Mary Stuart more remarkable than the fact that, at the dreary and hopeless period of her incarceration in Lochleven Castle, deliverers should have been raised up for her in the family of her deadliest foes. The Regent Moray's maternal brother, George Douglas, commonly called Prettie Geordie, the youngest son of Lady Douglas

by her late husband Sir Robert Douglas, being employed as one of Queen Mary's jailers, became deeply interested in her behalf. He had been present when her signature to the deeds of abdication was extorted, and, unable to restrain his feelings, had indignantly reproved his ruffian brother-in-law, Lord Lindsay, for the impropriety and brutality of his behaviour, and from that hour laboured to effect her deliverance. This generous impulse has been imputed by the libeller Buchanan to the influence of Mary's charms and seductions, and—though she had nothing left to bestow—her bribes. But if ever the spirit of true chivalry and disinterested loyalty animated a young warm heart, it was exemplified in the conduct of George Douglas to his oppressed and afflicted Sovereign. He soon became the unsuspected medium of communication between her and an association of faithful and courageous gentlemen, who had pledged themselves to break her chains. A variety of projects were devised for that purpose. Their first resolution was to seize and man the great boat,[1] belonging to the laird Sir William Douglas, with a chosen number of the loyal associates, assault the Castle by night, and, assisted by George and some of his confederates from within, force the tower where Queen Mary was confined, and carry her off. Unfortunately this plan, having been confided by George Douglas to Will Drysdale, an officer in the garrison, on whose services he had calculated, was by him hinted to the laird, who thereupon laid up the great boat. They next devised the romantic project of stealing into St Serf's Inch, a deserted islet about a mile higher up the lake, formerly a monastic institution, now the resort of herons and wild-fowl, and concealing themselves among the tangled thickets of fern and brushwood in the ruins of the Culdee church, till George could induce his brother to bring the captive Queen there, to indulge her with her favourite recreation of hawking, then to rush out, secure the boat, overpower the laird and his servants, and row the Queen to the shore, where their confederates would be in waiting with horses to carry

[1] Letter of Kirkaldy of Grange to Sir William Douglas, June 1, 1567—in the family archives of the Earl of Morton at Dalmahoy.

her off.[1] But neither this nor a variety of other schemes on which they deliberated were found practicable. Yet, doubtless, the whispered communication of each in turn, served to amuse and cheer poor Mary and the faithful companions of her captivity during that long dismal winter, and by keeping hope alive within her desolate heart, preserved it from breaking when everything appeared against her.

George Douglas's loyal projects were not only betrayed and traversed one after the other by his perfidious confidant, but he was at last denounced as their originator, expelled with disgrace from the Castle, and forbidden ever to set foot on the island again.[2] The Earl of Moray, on being informed of what had been going on, hastened to Lochleven to devise with his mother, his brother Sir William Douglas, and his brother-in-law Lord Lindsay of the Byres, means for keeping their illustrious prisoner in greater security. The meeting between Moray and his royal sister was stormy. She knew her life was in his hands; but, nowise intimidated by his threats, she overwhelmed him with reproaches, telling him that to him she imputed her injurious treatment by his Parliament—in allusion to the Act which had passed through his influence sanctioning her detention in prison, under the pretext that it was in consequence of her own faults, whereas in their more recent Act for Bothwell's forfeiture the slander that had been thrown upon her on account of her marriage was clearly disproved. Moray answered for once sincerely, by saying, "that he and the other Lords could do no less for their own security, in respect they had enterprised to put her into captivity;"[3] words that significantly explain the motives for the defamation and forgery that were employed for want of real evidence against this unfortunate Princess by her subtle foes, in consequence of what they termed "the necessity of their cause." They had gone too far to recede, and, to avert their own ruin, used every means to consummate hers.

[1] Letter of Kirkaldy of Grange to Sir William Douglas, June 1, 1567—in the family archives of the Earl of Morton at Dalmahoy. [2] Ibid.
[3] Letter from Sir W. Drury to Sir W. Cecil, April 3, 1568—Keith.

A report of what passed in the private interview between Mary and her usurping brother, duly prepared for circulation in the English court, was communicated by the latter, through the convenient medium of a news-letter from his friend Sir William Drury to Cecil, in which the following passage occurs: "From that she entered into another purpose, being marriage, praying she might have a husband, and named one to her liking, George Douglas, brother to the Laird of Lochleven; on which the Earl replied that he was an over mean marriage for her Grace, and that he, with the rest of her nobility, would take advice thereon." It is scarcely necessary to expose the gross absurdity of such a tale, for even if the generous devotion and personal graces of George Douglas, who was near about her own age, had won her affections, Moray was surely the last person in the world whom she would have selected for her confidant, after her experience of his inimical proceedings in regard to her marriage with her cousin Darnley. Nor was it possible for a Princess of Mary's high spirit, aspersed, betrayed, and supplanted, as she had been, by that ungrateful brother, to pass so quickly from indignant reproaches on the score of his perfidy and treason as to beseech him to give her a husband, and, of all persons in the world, to name the one who had just incurred his wrath above all others.

In no other manner than passionate reproach, taunting inuendo, and sarcastic rejoinder, could such a subject have been discussed between them. Moray's jealousy had been excited by current rumours regarding various candidates for the hand of the captive Queen, whereof the Lord of Arbroath, second son of the Duke of Châtelherault, was the most alarming to him, because that alliance was recommended by the King of France. The Earl of Argyll was labouring for her restoration, on condition of her becoming the wife of his brother; and the young Lord of Methven had very recently been proposed for her husband.[1] Whether any of these suitors had been encouraged by Mary does

[1] Forster to Cecil, April 30, 1568.

not appear; but the fraternal usurper of her realm was the last person in the world with whom she would have entered into confidential discourse on any matter of the kind. Whatever passed between them at that interview, their last was clearly of a hostile character. Its effect was not to reconcile a love-lorn turtle to her cage, by lulling her with delusive hopes of a young handsome mate, but to rouse the lion-like spirit of a royal heroine to make a desperate effort to recover her liberty; and, notwithstanding the redoubled cautions and restraints with which Moray had surrounded her, she had wellnigh succeeded in her enterprise a day or two after he left the island. The Lady of Lochleven, being, as may be presumed, a thrifty housewife, not choosing to be burdened with the trouble and expense of having the washing for the Queen and her maidens performed in the Castle, allowed, of course unknown to Moray, a laundress to come from the adjacent village of Kinross across the lake in a boat to fetch the soiled linen, and bring it back to her Majesty clean. This laundress being a true-hearted Scotchwoman, kind, compassionate, and courageous, was easily won to lend her assistance in a new project for the Queen's enfranchisement, which was arranged through her medium with George Douglas, who, though expelled from the Castle, remained concealed in the house of one of his humble allies at Kinross.

While Mary was secretly rallying all the energies of her nature, for the moment when word should be brought to her that all things were prepared, she affected the languor of sickness, and passed all her mornings in bed, as if listless and indifferent to everything in life. The time chosen for the enterprise was the 25th of March, being the day for the laundress's customary visit to her Majesty's chamber to exchange the linen she had washed for that which had been used. The Queen then rose, and disguising herself in the faithful creature's humble weeds, drew a muffler over her face, and taking the bundle of linen that was to be carried away in her arms, passed out of the Castle in that manner unsuspected, and, stepping into the boat, took her

seat. Nature had not, however, fitted Mary Stuart to support the character of a washerwoman with success. When they were midway between the Castle and the shore, her air and mien, so incongruous with her coarse array, attracted the attention of one of the rowers, who, merrily addressing the others, said, "Let us see what manner of dame this is," and attempted to pull down her muffler. Mary impulsively put up her hands to defend herself from his rude approach. The whiteness and delicacy of those beautiful hands betrayed the fact that they had never been accustomed to the vocation of a laundress. Perceiving herself to be known, Mary assumed the tone and gesture of command, and ordered the men, at peril of their lives, to row her to the shore. Had they been intrusted with the secret, or had she condescended to the use of pathetic pleading, instead of threats, which she was in no condition to put in force, they might have been willing to risk tortures and death to save her; but, offended at her haughty recoil from their boisterous attempt at personal familiarity in the first place, and her peremptory orders and menaces in the next, they tacked about and rowed her back to the island, promising, however, as a great favour, not to betray her secret to the Lord of the Castle[1]—a promise which the cruelty of bringing her back in the broad light of day rendered only mockery.

Sir William Drury concludes his hard unsympathising narrative of the tantalising manner in which poor Mary's courageous enterprise had been frustrated, when so near success, with this piece of information: "It seems she knew her refuge, and where to have found it, if she had once landed, for there did, and yet do linger, at a little village called Kinross, hard at the loch side, the same George Douglas, one Sempill,[2] and one Beton, the which

[1] Letter from Sir W. Drury to Sir W. Cecil, April 3, 1568. Keith, 470.

[2] This was the gallant John Sempill, the husband of Mary Livingstone, who had rendered his royal mistress worthy service in the time of her previous distress, when she was imprisoned in her own Palace of Holyrood by Morton and the other assassins of David Riccio.

two were sometime her trusty servants, and, as yet appeareth, they mind her no less affection."[1]

In consequence of these reiterated efforts to break her chains, the rigour of Mary's imprisonment was increased, and the vigilance of her keepers redoubled. Her bedchamber was no longer a sanctuary, but violated by the presence and espionage of the daughters of Lady Douglas of Lochleven, who were intruded in turn within the confined circuit of that apartment every night, for the purpose of giving notice of signals or attempts at rescue from without. The bright notion of converting the young ladies of the family, his maternal sisters, into a band of female turnkeys, by compelling them to undertake the ungracious office of nocturnal spies on the captive Queen, was probably one of the regulations imposed by Moray, at his angry visit to the Castle, after the defection of his brother George. These damsels were seven in number. The eldest was married to the ruffian Lord Lindsay: the youngest could not have been under twenty-one years of age, as their father, Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, was killed at the battle of Pinkie; but their beauty and majestic stature had gained for them the somewhat poetical cognomen of "the seven fair porches of Lochleven." There was another lady residing in Lochleven Castle, Christian, Countess of Buchan, the orphan ward and betrothed wife of Moray, whom, not contented with forsaking for Agnes Keith, the daughter of the Earl Marischal, he had stripped of her inheritance, and, though convents were abolished, devoted to life-long celibacy, in the seclusion of Lochleven Castle, in the keeping of his chaste lady-mother and her eldest son by the late laird, Sir William Douglas. But they, either moved with compassion for her, or the prospect of pecuniary advantage to themselves, made a marriage between her and Lady Douglas's second son Robert. Nothing can more thoroughly lay bare the baseness of Moray's disposition than the angry letter he wrote to his mother, reproving her for having allowed these nuptials to take place. "Howbeit," he says, "whoever hath her, I mean to have

[1] Letter of Sir W. Drury to Cecil, April 3. Keith, 470.

her living."[1] Ay, and he kept his word, and with injustice that survived the term of his life, bequeathed her patrimony to his own daughters.

At the period when Moray had taken up arms against his royal sister, on account of her marriage with Darnley, and was forced to take refuge in England, his mother and brother, Sir William Douglas, having held out the island and fortalice of Lochleven against their Sovereign, the victorious Queen sent a herald summoning them to surrender the Castle and remove themselves within six hours; but being told "that Sir William Douglas was ill in bed, and that the Countess of Buchan was there, and did travail of her first child," she, in accordance with her generous and truly feminine nature, allowed them to remain undisturbed, and was pleased to accept surety that the Castle should be at her command.[2] It is to be hoped that Lady Buchan testified her grateful remembrance of this compassionate forbearance, when she found her royal mistress immured beneath the same roof with herself, as a desolate and forlorn captive. Perhaps it was through the unrecorded aid of this plundered sister-in-law of their mutual persecutor Moray, that Queen Mary obtained the interdicted materials for writing, and the means of sending the letters out of the Castle, which she wrote by John Beton to the Queen-mother of France and Beton Archbishop of Glasgow, five days after her abortive attempt to escape on the 25th of March.

LETTER FROM QUEEN MARY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW, HER AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT OF FRANCE.

"From Lochleven, the 31st of March, 1568.

"MONSIEUR DE GLASGOW,—Your brother will make you understand my miserable condition. I pray you present him and his letters, making what solicitations you can at the same time in my behalf. He will tell you the rest, for I have neither paper nor time to write more, except to

[1] The letter is preserved among the family papers of the Earl of Morton, by whose permission it has been printed by the Bannatyne Club, to afford a somewhat more correct picture of the principles of the supplanter of Mary Stuart, than his eulogists had the opportunity of forming. It is rarely, indeed, that Moray speaks his mind in black and white; but he was in a passion, and writing to his own mother, little dreaming that such a letter would ever rise up in judgment against him. [2] Keith, p. 318.

entreat the King, the Queen, and my uncles, to burn my letters; for if it be known that I have written, it would cost the lives of many, and put my own in danger, and cause me to be more strictly guarded. May God have you in His care, and grant me patience. From my prison this last of March.

"Your ancient and very good mistress and friend,

"MARIE R., now prisoner.

"I pray you to deliver five hundred crowns to this bearer for his journey, and more if he need it."[1]

To her royal mother-in-law of France, Mary wrote that she had received the letter of comfort her Majesty had been pleased to send to her in her distress, the bearer of which had been arrested and was still in prison. "It is with extreme difficulty," she says, "I have been able to send a faithful servant to explain the extent of my misery, and to beseech you to have compassion on me, inasmuch as Lord Moray has caused me to be told, underhand, that the King your son is going to make peace with his subjects, and one of the conditions of the treaty is, that he shall not give me any help. This information is said to come from your servants; they also are in correspondence with the Prince de Condé and the Admiral, who have written to them that they would not come to an agreement on any other terms. This I cannot believe, for, next to God, I place my whole reliance on the King and you, as this bearer can tell you. I beg you to give credit to him as if it were to myself, for I dare not write more, save to entreat God to have you in His holy care. From my prison this last of March."[2]

Mary's information was correct—the Huguenot party was in the ascendant in France, and her uncles in the minority. Her youthful brother-in-law, the King, who had always loved her better than anything in the world, was indignant at her injuries, and would fain have assisted her in her distress, but he was a powerless cipher. The Queen-mother, Catherine de Medici, ruled his court and cabinet. She had always regarded Mary with jealous dislike, and had set her mind on placing her favourite son Henry on the throne of England, by marrying him to Queen Elizabeth;

[1] Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart. Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 65.
[2] Labanoff, vol. ii.

neither her inclinations, therefore, nor her interest, were enlisted on the side of her unfortunate daughter-in-law, even if the political necessities of the royal cause in France had permitted the King to send troops and money to Scotland. After Mary found herself disappointed in the hopes she had vainly cherished of aid from her royal connections in France, there were moments when the lofty spirit with which she had armed herself to endure the hardships of her lot gave way, and reason itself tottered. "She who was born to empire, and for whom empires seemed to be made," says one of her honest old French biographers,[1] "saw herself deprived of her sweet liberty, separated from human society, banished to a desert, where there were only rocks to witness her sufferings; the prisoner of her subjects, and subjected to their slaves. Once, when looking through the bars of her window, on the lake, where she saw in every wave an image of the instability of her altered fortunes, she sunk into such profound sadness that the evil spirit took occasion of her despair to tempt her with the thought that, since the earth and air were denied to her, she had no other choice than the water, and that she might, by one plunge, terminate her weary captivity, and bury all her sorrows in those deep waters that flowed beneath the tower. But the next moment her trust in God returned, and, throwing herself on her knees, she besought pardon for her sinful thought, and asked for strength and consolation under her trials." The following pious meditation is said to have been composed by her after the agony of her mind had been calmed by prayer:—

"Alas! my soul, if God permits this, for thy sins, shouldst thou not kiss the rod that chastens thee by temporal troubles, instead of making thee the object of eternal sufferings? And if this hath happened to thee to prove thy virtue, shrinkest thou from passing through the furnace where the Great Refiner will purge away thy dross to make thee shine as pure gold? What is it that distresses thee so much, my heart? Is it because thou art deprived of liberty, and the pleasures of a court? Take now the wings of contem-

[1] Caussin.

plation, and divine love, and fly beyond this Lake of Leven; soar far above the seas that surround our Isles, and thou wilt learn that there is no prison for a soul which is enfranchised by God, and to despise the world and all that pertains to it."[1]

The similarity of the sentiments and language in the fragmentary essay on the uses of adversity recently discovered in the State Paper Office, in Mary's well-known autograph, are sufficient to identify her as the genuine author of this beautiful lesson of Christian resignation.

Human aid was, however, nearer to the forlorn captive than she imagined. George Douglas had left within the Castle an unsuspected coadjutor in his courageous enterprises for her deliverance, a boy of tender years and mysterious parentage, to whom the honour was reserved of acting the part of Æsop's fabled mouse, in severing the meshes of the net in which the lion was entrapped. This was Willie Douglas, a youth of sixteen, who waited on the Lady of Lochleven in the capacity of a page. In the Castle he was called "the lad Willie," "orphan Willie," "little Willie," and "foundling Willie;" for he was found when a babe at the Castle gates. Hume of Godscroft says "he was the natural brother of George,"[2] but this was impossible—at least by the father's side—as the old laird, Sir Robert Douglas, was slain six years before Willie was born; it is probable that he was the son of George's eldest brother, Sir William Douglas. Willie was brought up in Lochleven Castle, and received the education of a gentleman; for not only could he read and write, but he understood French and other languages fluently enough to be sent subsequently by his royal mistress on secret missions to foreign princes.

His young heart had been deeply touched with compassion for the distress of the illustrious captive; and one day seeing her more than usually sorrowful, he took the liberty of whispering to her, "Madam, if your Majesty will venture to attempt your escape, I can tell you of the means of doing it. We have here, below, a postern-gate by which we sometimes go out in one of the boats on the lake. I

[1] Caussin—in Jebb.

[2] A conjecture which I erroneously adopted in my "Historic Scenes."

will bring you the key when I can get the boat ready, and will deliver you, and flee at the same time with you from the fury of my father"[1] The Queen, greatly astonished at these words, replied, "My little friend, this is very good of you, but see you tell no one, or we shall be ruined; and if you succeed in rendering me this service, I will make you great and happy for the rest of your life."[2] Being destitute of pen, ink, and paper at that time, she wrote with a piece of charcoal on her handkerchief a few words, probably in cipher, and made her first trial of little Willie's sagacity and faith, by intrusting him with the care of transmitting it to her loyal friend, Lord Seton.[3] This was readily done, through the agency of George Douglas, who was no farther off than Kinross. Lord Seton was then at his castle of West Niddry, on the other side the Forth, but the token speedily reached him, and being rightly interpreted, put him on his mettle. He transported a company of sixty picked horsemen, armed and apparelled for defence, across the water, and concealed them in a convenient glen in the secluded bosom of the Western Lomonds, to await the issue of the enterprise which Mary had given warning she meant to attempt. Many days, however, elapsed ere Willie was able to make good his promise of breaking her chains. Villiers de Beaumont, the new French Ambassador, arrived in Edinburgh, in the interim, charged with letters and messages of comfort to Queen Mary from the King and Queen-mother of France, but he was not permitted to deliver them. After a few days' delay he obtained audience of the Regent Moray, of whom he demanded, in the name of his royal master, her restoration to liberty and her royal estate; reminding him, at the same time, of his professions of loyalty and affection to her service when at the Court of France. Moray excused himself from the performance of his promises by saying "that it did not depend on him, but on the other

[1] Probably Sir William Douglas, the Laird of Lochleven, was the person to whom Willie alluded. [2] Caussin.
[3] Ibid., and Bell's Life of Queen Mary.

lords, and he could give no reply to the demands of the King of France till he had consulted them, which could not be just then, as a Parliament had been held so recently, and it would be inconvenient for the nobles to convene again."[1]

Mary having obtained a small supply of writing materials through some kind friend in the Castle, probably Lady Buchan, wrote a desponding letter to her royal mother-in-law of France, in which she says: "I am so closely guarded that I have no leisure but when they are at dinner, or sleeping, when I rise stealthily, for their girls lie with me. This bearer will tell you all. I entreat you to give him credit, and to reward him and those he will present to you, as you love me. I implore you both to have pity upon me, for unless you take me hence by force I shall never come out, I am certain. But if you would send troops, all Scotland would revolt from Moray and Morton on perceiving you took the matter in earnest."[2] Her date, "From my prison, this first of May," would give pathetic interest even to a dry ceremonial letter from the hand of the royal captive by whom this piteous appeal for sympathy and succour had been penned in tears and trembling apprehension, lest the intrusive inmates of her bedchamber should waken from their slumbers and detect her in the act of using the contraband materials for correspondence.

Poor Mary, what a May-day for her! There were pipers and garlands, and merry lilting on every village green, in districts where the poetry of sylvan life was yet unblighted by the gloomy influence of fanatic zeal; while she who had ever joyed to see others happy, and to smile on their festive glee, was like a caged bird looking through the bars of her sternly-guarded prison on the budding verdure on the amphitheatre of mountains that shut her out from the haunts of men. To a mind of such exquisite sensibility as hers, it would doubtless have af-

[1] Beaumont's Despatch—Teulet. Keith.
[2] From the Imperial Library, St Petersburg.

forded some consolation could she have foreknown how sweetly Scotia's noblest Bard of low degree would, two centuries and a half later, describe her feelings on the return of Spring.

"Now blooms the lily by the bank,
The primrose down the brae,
The hawthorn 's hidden in the glen,
And milk-white is the slae:
The meanest hind in fair Scotland
May rove their sweets amang,
But I, the Queen o' a' the land,
Maun lie in prison strang.

"I was the Queen o' bonny France,
Where happy I hae been," &c. [1]

If Mary Stuart had addressed her eloquent appeals for pity and for succour to the yeomen, shepherds, and fishermen of Scotland, they would not have left her unassisted. But who can wonder if hearts like those of Catherine de Medicis and Queen Elizabeth were callous to her misery? She must have acted under a strange delusion in wasting her hours of sleep, and precious ink and paper, in writing to them; but it was her great weakness to put her trust in princes.

The same day the Regent Moray had given audience to Beaumont the French Ambassador, and refused to allow him to see Queen Mary, he graciously licensed Sir Robert Melville to deliver from her rich wardrobe-stores six pocket-handkerchiefs for her use; they were embroidered and fringed with gold.[2] She took the opportunity of asking Melville to let her have the ring which Queen Elizabeth had formerly sent to her as a pledge of friendship, with the promise, that if she returned it to her in any season of distress, she would do her best to aid her; but he assured her he dared not deliver it. Mary, in the childlike simplicity of her confiding nature, though unable, as she naïvely laments, to send the ring, ventured, in this dark epoch of

[1] Lament of Mary Queen of Scots, by Robert Burns.
[2] Habiliments envoyé à la Royne d'Escosse—Maitland Miscellany.

her fortunes, to remind her all-powerful kinswoman of her promise, in the following interesting letter, the original of which, in her own handwriting, is still preserved in the collection of the Marquess of Salisbury at Hatfield House.

"From Lochleven, this 1st of May."

"MADAME, MY GOOD SISTER.—The length of my weary imprisonment, and the wrongs I have received from those on whom I have conferred so many benefits, are less annoying to me than not having it in my power to acquaint you with the reality of my calamities, and the injuries that have been done to me in various ways. Therefore, having found means to send a line to you by a faithful servant, to whom I have confided my whole mind, I entreat you to give the same credit to him as to myself. It may please you to remember that you have told me several times, 'that, on receiving that ring you gave me, you would assist me in any time of trouble.' You know that Moray has seized all I have, and those who had the keeping of some of those things have been ordered not to deliver any of them to me. Robert Melville, at any rate, to whom I have often secretly sent for this ring, as my most precious jewel, says 'he dare not let me have it.' Therefore, I implore you, on receiving this letter, to have compassion on your good sister and cousin, and believe that you have not a more affectionate relative in the world. You should also consider the importance of the example practised against me, not only to sovereigns but to those of lower degree.

"I entreat you to be careful that no one knows that I have written to you, for it would cause me to be treated worse than I am now, and they boast of being informed by their friends of all that you say and do.

"Believe the bearer of this as you would myself. God keep you from misfortunes, and grant me patience and His grace that I may one day recount my calamities to yourself, when I will tell you more than I dare to write, which may prove of no small service to yourself.

"Your obliged and affectionate good sister and cousin,

"MARY R.

"From my prison, this first of May."

Little did the despairing captive think what the morrow would bring forth, when she stole from her restless pillow to spend a tearful vigil in penning these heart-rending letters, while the drowsy female sentinels, who had been intruded on her nocturnal privacy, slumbered on their posts. That memorable morrow, May 2, 1568, was a Sunday, and, like most Scottish Sabbaths, passed quietly away from dawn to sunset in the little island of Lochleven; but loyal hearts were throbbing with eager excitement under steel corslets beyond the circuit of the lake, and anxious eyes of unseen watchers, as the sun declined, were peer-

ing from behind the sheltering crags that commanded a prospect of the broad expanse of waters and its castled islet; for John Beton had passed the token, received by George Douglas from little Willie, to Lord Seton, signifying that the Queen's enfranchisement would be enterprised that evening. Fifty horsemen were ambushed by Seton in the bosom of a mountain valley, within a mile of the lake's shore; forty more were hidden behind the hill a little in the rear; while ten, in the dress of wayfarers, entered the village of Kinross, where their fleet horses, ready bridled and saddled, were concealed. One of the brave associates advanced singly to the margin of the lake, where, couching himself down at full length, with his eyes intently fixed on the Castle, he watched for the appearance of the boat, and the concerted signal of the Queen's escape.[1]

At half-past seven, the guards, who kept watch and ward at the gates night and day, were accustomed to quit their post for half an hour to sup with the family in the great hall, the gates being carefully locked and the keys placed beside the castellan, Sir William Douglas, Laird of Lochleven, on the table where he and his mother sat in state on the dais. Willie Douglas, who was waiting on them, while changing the laird's plate contrived to drop his napkin over the keys, which were five in number, linked together with an iron chain, adroitly enveloping them within the folds of the cloth to prevent them from jingling as he carried them off. With these he hastened to the apartments of the Queen, to which they gave him access. Mary having received notice of the projected enterprise by certain tokens, before agreed on, sent to her from George Douglas by Marie Courcelles,[2] was ready to start off the moment Willie presented himself before her with the keys.[3] She had in the mean time changed clothes with the oldest and tallest of her two maids of honour,[4] Mary Seton, who is generally supposed

[1] Tytler's History of Scotland.
[2] Letter from Grange to the Laird of Lochleven.
[3] Ibid., and Report of Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of France, to the Doge, May 26, 1568.
[4] Ibid.

to have fled with her, but really incurred the far greater danger of remaining behind to personate her royal mistress, and bear the first brunt of the anger of the Lady of Lochleven and her family, when it should be found that her Majesty was gone. Queen Mary took with her the youngest companion of her captivity, a little girl of ten years old, of whom she appeared very fond, tenderly leading her by the hand.[1] Willie, having carefully locked the gates behind him to prevent immediate pursuit, hurried the Queen and her small companion into a little skiff that lay there, into which they got. The royal fugitive, with the impetuous energy natural to her, seizing one of the oars, bore her part bravely, and it should seem by the result skilfully, in assisting the fragile stripling who was risking his life for her deliverance, in rowing to the shore.[2] Jane Kennedy, her other damsel who was to have accompanied her, not being quick enough to reach the Castle gates till they were locked by the retreating party, leaped from the Queen's chamber window into the loch, and, striking out, swam stoutly after the boat till she overtook it, and was received in her dripping garments within that little ark;[3] a feat which the golden-haired Scottish naïads, who astonish Southron tourists by their gambols in the Bay of Rothesay, and even as near Edinburgh as Portobello, will not deem incredible.

Midway between the island and the shore, Queen Mary rose and gave the preconcerted signal that she was in the boat, by waving her veil, which was white, with a red and gold border and red tassels. "When the royal veil was seen to flutter forth, the recumbent watcher on the shore sprang to his feet, and, turning about, displayed a corresponding signal to his companions in the village, the leader of whom," pursues our authority,[4] "was that very John Beton who has now come to acquaint their Majesties the King of France and the Queen-mother with the circum-

[1] Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 174. Italian contemporary Document. Labanoff's Appendix, vol. vii.

[2] Report of Giovanni Correr, Ambassador from Venice to France, to the Doge—kindly communicated by Rawdon Brown, Esq.

[3] Caussin—in Jebb's Collections. Bell's Life of Mary Stuart.

[4] Giovanni Correr.

stance, and who is the brother of the Archbishop of Glasgow, Scottish Ambassador resident here."

"The horsemen in the village instantly communicated the sign to those on the hill-side, who forthwith galloped down to the shore of the lake where the Queen and the young page were rowing their boat, and at length, by the grace of God, got safe to land."[1] When about a furlong from the shore, Willie Douglas threw the bunch of keys into the loch, where, during a year of drought, which dried several acres of the water, they were found by a fisher boy within the present century.[2]

The greeting was most joyous when Mary Stuart, flinging the oar from her royal hand, sprang from the boat to the green shore of Kinross, flushed with her unwonted toil and excitement, and, smiling through her tears, received the rapturous homage of those true-hearted Scots who were perilling their lives for the deliverance of their lovely and beloved Queen. She was now a free woman, for the first time since Bothwell beset her with his armed force at Foulbriggs, "and, putting violent hands on her noble person, hurried her away as his prisoner to Dunbar,"[3] on the fatal 24th

[1] Giovanni Correr.

[2] These mute memorials of the adventure are now in the possession of the Earl of Morton, at Dalmahoy House, where I have had the pleasure of examining them and the remains of the chain which originally linked them together. There are five keys, of antique workmanship, large and small. Other relics of Queen Mary were discovered when the loch was partially drained in 1821. One of these was a sceptre with a cane stem, hilted with ivory, and mounted with silver. It had probably formed part of her travelling regalia in happier days when she visited Lochleven, where she had a throne and cloth of estate, and occasionally gave receptions. A gold or richly-gilt key, with a Gothic bow highly decorated, damasked all over with engraved flowers, having the date 1565 deeply cut along the outward edge of the wards, and the inscription *Marie Rex* round the rim of the bow, was found at the same time, and is in the possession of the Earl of Leven, at Melville House, Fifeshire. It is about four inches long, with a pipe too wide for any ordinary lock; and, from its ornamental character and the inscription, must have been her Lord-Chamberlain's badge of office, and was probably lost by Sir Robert Melville in one of his voyages to or from the Castle. Another antique key of elaborate workmanship was found by a young man, while digging among the ruins, in the summer of 1831, having figures of angels and birds twisted into the scroll-work which composes the handle. An engraving of this appears in "Castles, Palaces, and Prisons of Mary of Scotland," by Charles Mackie, Esq.

[3] Acta Parliamentorum, December 20, 1567.

of April, in the preceding year. Nearly fourteen months of the most frightful constraint and misery had been her portion, in consequence of the daring *coup-de-main* of that perfidious minister. She had had change of bondage, it is true; but it was from bad, if possible, to worse, when, to escape from his thraldom, and confiding in the fair words of Kirkaldy of Grange, she had suffered herself to be deluded into the snares of the wily Morton and his confederates, by whom, after exposing her to the insults of the rabble, and detaining her like a common felon a night of horror in the Black Turnpike in Edinburgh, she had been ruthlessly incarcerated for the last ten months and a half in the cold damp tower of Lochleven, with the obvious intention of making her desolate prison-house her grave. The spot where she effected her landing, on the lake shore, has obtained, in memory of that event, the name of the Mary Knowe.

"Persons here acquainted with the locality," writes the Venetian Ambassador from Paris, to the Doge, "knowing under what close custody she was kept, deem this flight of hers miraculous, having been managed by two lads whose tender age did not promise either judgment or secresy suited to such an occasion.[1] What renders the story more amusing, too, is the fact that when the inmates of the Castle became aware of the escape, being themselves prisoners, they could only witness it by peering from the windows."[2] According to Buchanan, the chase, when those within the Castle succeeded in forcing the locks, was prevented by Willie Douglas having used the precaution of stopping up the loops for the oars. The operations of the sharp-witted stripling were probably not confined to stopping loops, when holes for swamping the boat might have been punched with less trouble and more certain effect for averting the danger of pursuit.

The fleetest horses Scotland could supply had long been provided for the use of the Queen and the companions of

[1] The age of George Douglas has always been mistaken. He could not have been, at the utmost, more than three years younger than the Queen herself, and was probably about her own age.

[2] Excerpts from Despatches of Giovanni Correr, kindly communicated by Rawdon Brown, Esq.—from Venetian Archives.

her escapade. She was quickly in the saddle, and notwithstanding all she had suffered since then, proved herself as well able to ride a race for life and liberty as she had done nearly three years before, when she baffled the malice of the conspirators who lay in wait at the Kirk of Beith and Parenwell, with the murderous intention of slaying her beloved Darnley before her face, and hurrying her away to a lifelong captivity in Lochleven Castle: facts of too recent occurrence to have been forgotten by the honest men in that neighbourhood, who did their best to favour her escape when actually ensnared and incarcerated in her pre-ordained prison. It was a proud and happy hour for every one associated in the successful enterprise for her enfranchisment, from the premier Baron of Scotland, Lord Seton, at the head of the vassal lairds and stout yeomen whom he had led to the rescue of his liege lady, to the humble peasants and fishwives of Kinross, who had risked bringing fire and sword on their homes for the sake of sheltering and sustaining her loyal servants, John Beton, John Sempill, and George Douglas, beneath their humble roofs, till her deliverance could be accomplished, which was not effected till after several fruitless attempts—more, apparently, than have been recorded.

"This last," writes Kirkaldy of Grange, "was taen in hand, devised, and executed by the Queen's self, George, and the lad Willie. *Cursell*[1] was on the council who received all the writings, messages, and tokens from Willie, sent by George to the Queen."

[1] Marie Courcelles. We are indebted to the research and kind liberality of Frederick Devon, Esq., for the communication of a most curious inedited document recently discovered by him among the records preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster, being a petition from this faithful attendant of Mary Stuart to James the First's Privy Council at Whitehall, 17th of April 1609, one-and-forty-years after these events, humbly showing that the suppliant, "besides the honest and painful service done by her to the late Queen of Scotland for the space of twenty-three years, delivered her out of the Castle of Lochleven, when she was detained prisoner there, and sustained losses in her service to the value of 1000 crowns." Setting forth, also, "that she had a salary of £20 a-year from Queen Mary, who died £340 in arrears to her. That for the last seventeen years she had been engaged in a suit against the Crown to recover her losses and arrears; and now the Council having assigned her a pension of £20 per annum in lieu of her claims, representing that it was

Another project for the Queen's deliverance was in preparation at the same time, her faithful servant, Lord Herries, having brought a squadron of little boats overland in waggons, to a convenient place in the neighbourhood, where he and his loyal confederates intended to launch them under cover of darkness on the lake, with a sufficient number of armed and resolute men, to surprise the Castle and rescue their beloved Sovereign. It was generally believed, till the arrival of John Beton in Paris, that this gallant enterprise had been successfully achieved, and that Lord Herries had carried off the Queen in triumph to Dumbarton.[1]

Well would it have been for poor Mary if the report thus erroneously circulated, in the first instance, of her having reached Dumbarton Castle, had been correct. That refuge, alas, was not for her; nor does it appear that its necessity was anticipated by her courageous spirit when, full of hope and animation, she and her loyal escort swept past the hostile neighbourhood of Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange unmolested, and gained the coast in safety. Deeming it, however, more prudent not to perform more of the perilous journey by land than was absolutely necessary, because the Laird of Raith, Henry Balnaves, who had persecuted her from her cradle, had paramount influence in that seditious district, she and her company avoided the port of Kirkcaldy by embarking at one of the secluded havens among the rocks in an open fisher-boat, five miles from Lochleven.[2] In this frail bark Mary fearlessly braved

too small a recompense for her so meritable services; for as the said late Queen, her lady and mistress, when she had no other means for her own maintenance than her French dowery, allowed her as much, she thought she had reason humbly to beseech their Lordships to increase that pension to £30 a-year for her own life and the life of one of her children; and to take order that the arrears due to her by the late Queen, which had been detained from her seventeen years, might be paid to her, her poverty being very great." The prayer was granted; and the pension of £30 a-year for her life, and that of one of her children, was accorded.

[1] Despatches of Giovanni Correr, to the Doge. Kindly communicated by Rawdon Brown, Esq.

[2] Ibid., and report of Petrucci to Cosmo I., Duke of Tuscany—in Labanoff.

the rough waves of the Firth, in which one of the faithful companions of her captivity and escape, even that stout swimmer, Jane Kennedy, was, two-and-twenty years later, doomed to find a watery grave.[1]

But all went well for Mary that auspicious May evening; she and her company made their port in safety, landing, according to local tradition, at the ancient wooden pier which formerly jutted out into the sea, just above the small town of South Queensferry. There she was met and welcomed by Lord Claud Hamilton, son of the Duke of Châtelherault, first Prince of the blood-royal of Scotland, at the head of fifty armed cavaliers of his surname and lineage, and other gentlemen of the neighbourhood, eager to renew their homage, and burning to avenge her wrongs. Attended by a momentarily-increasing gathering, Queen Mary was conducted by Lord Seton to his castle of West Niddry, where she halted for the night.

The roofless shell of the feudal fortress which afforded the first safe resting-place to the fugitive Sovereign of Scotland, after her hasty flitting, is still in existence, forming part of the fair domains of the Earl of Hopetoun. The changes of the last few years have brought the railroad line from Edinburgh to Glasgow in close proximity to this historic site. The grey mouldering pile, in its lonely desolation, arrests for a moment the attention of the musing moralist or antiquary, should such there be, among the passengers in the trains that thunder onward to their appointed bourne, through solitudes full of high and chivalric memories of the past. But Niddry Castle should be visited in a quiet hour by the historical pilgrim who would retrace in fancy the last bright scene of Mary Stuart's life, when, notwithstanding the forced abdication which had transferred the crown of Scotland to her baby-boy, she stood a Queen once more among those true nobles of her realm, whom English gold had not corrupted, nor successful treason daunted.

One broad window in West Niddry Castle was, within

[1] Sir James Melville's Memoirs.

the memory of man, surmounted with a stone entablature[1] bearing the royal arms of Scotland, the date of the month and year, and even the age of Lord Seton at that proud epoch of his life when the beauteous Sovereign whom he had had so honourable a share in delivering from her doleful prison slept beneath his roof in safety. That window lighted the chamber where Queen Mary enjoyed her sweet repose after the successful enterprise of her escape from Lochleven. Her slumbers were, however, early dispelled by the inspiring *réveillés* of the loyal muster that began to gather at West Niddry long before sunrise; for the summons had been promptly sent forth through the country, coupled with the tidings that the Queen had broken her prison. The tradition of the place asserts that Mary being too much excited by the martial clamour in the court below, and the cheering notes of the pipes and bugles, as the Livingstones, Bruces, and other faithful chiefs, brought up their puissance, to tarry for the completion of all the elaborate ceremonies of a royal toilette, flew, with her hair undecked and floating over her neck and shoulders, to the open window, showed herself to her loyal lieges, and thanked them for their attachment to her service in a few eloquent words: an anecdote perfectly characteristic of her impetuous warmth of feeling.[2]

On her return to Scotland, after the death of her beloved Francis, Mary had offered to bestow an earldom on Lord Seton; but being the premier Baron of Scotland, he refused to become the puisne Earl. Mary then conferred a higher honour on him by writing an extempore couplet in Latin and in French, which may be thus rendered in English rhyme:

[1] The entablature, though broken, is still in existence in the neighbouring orchard, and ought to be restored to its original station.

[2] Sir Walter Scott has, with poetic license, worked up this incident into a glowing descriptive scene in the Abbot; a romance which, however beautiful, would have been far better had it not violated history in every possible way. Youthful readers cannot be too much cautioned against the fallacy of expecting to find correct information in works of fiction, where historical characters are introduced, truth being, in that case, always rendered subservient to effect or the author's convenience.

Though earls, and dukes, and even kings there be,
Yet Seton's noble lord sufficeth me.[1]

From West Niddry the enfranchised Queen was conducted triumphantly by Lord Seton and her other loyal friends to Hamilton Castle, the headquarters of her party. She was received there by Archbishop Hamilton and the principal nobles and gentlemen in that neighbourhood, with all the honours due to their Sovereign, and an enthusiastic welcome. She then and there solemnly revoked her abdication in the presence of them all, declaring that her signature to the writs and instruments she had subscribed in Lochleven Castle had been extorted from her by violence and threats, to which she called on George Douglas and Sir Robert Melville, who were witnesses of that constraint, to bear testimony.[2]

Sir Robert Melville, anticipating a counter-revolution from the general feeling in favour of the Queen, was one of the first who came to her at Hamilton Castle to renew his homage, bringing with him as a peace-offering the precious ring, so often vainly demanded by her while in Lochleven Castle, which Queen Elizabeth had formerly sent to her as a pledge of friendship, and to which Mary had alluded in her last letter, claiming her promised aid.[3] Three horses out of the thirty-four of which her royal stud consisted at the time of her incarceration in Lochleven, were also brought by Sir Robert Melville for her use, together with some of the costly saddles and housings belonging to her, which he had dexterously contrived to abstract from the stables at Holyrood. Being afterwards sharply questioned before the Regent Morton and his Council as to what became of the other horses and equestrian furniture, he replied, "that he had given the rest of the horses away by the Queen's desire while she was in Lochleven Castle, and that the Earl of Moray had two of them for himself." He denied

[1] "Sunt comites ducesque denique reges,
Setoni dominum sit satis mihi!"

[2] Keith; Despatches of Correr; Tytler; Chalmers. [3] Hopetoun MSS.

"any intromission with the rest of that *graith*," but sarcastically informed the noble querists where they might find "an *auld* taffety riding-skirt hanging up, with two or three *auld* harnessings little or no gude worth."[1]

The first thing Queen Mary did was to despatch John Beton to the Court of France with the news of her escape, and "to ask their Majesties for a thousand harquebussiers for immediate use," observing, however, "that, for the recovery of Edinburgh and the other strongholds in possession of the rebels, more would be required.[2] To her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine," reports Petrucci,[3] "she hath, moreover, written a letter that would move the hardest heart to pity her. The first lines purport 'that she asks pardon of God and man for the past errors of her youth, which she promises to amend for the future.' She acknowledges her release, as a boon from the Almighty alone, to whom she returns most humble thanks for His having given her so much fortitude, in these her afflictions."

Whether Mary's penitential acknowledgment of the errors of her youth was in allusion to the Gordon tragedy—in which she had been rendered a reluctant agent by her wily brother Moray and his confederates, and which always lay heavy at her heart—or was merely the feeling natural to every Christian of having fallen short of her duties to God and man, it would be difficult to say, without seeing the rest of the letter. But this fact is certain, that no person of true sensibility was ever the recipient of a signal mercy, without mingling with thankfulness to Almighty God a humble confession of unworthiness before Him in whose sight shall no flesh be justified, except through the atoning mercies of a redeeming Saviour.

1 Hopetoun MSS.
2 Venetian Ambassador's Despatch to the Doge.
3 Florentine Ambassador to the Court of France. Printed by Prince Labanoff from the Archives de Medici.

MARY STUART.

CHAPTER XL.

SUMMARY.

Queen Mary's nobles pronounce her abdication null and void — She summons Moray to resign the government—French Ambassador joins her at Hamilton — Encouraging aspect of her affairs — Lamentations of the English authorities for her escape — Collusion of Elizabeth's Cabinet with the rebel faction — Queen Mary's costly pearls sold by Moray secretly to Queen Elizabeth for a third of their value—Pecuniary destitution of Mary—General demonstrations in her favour—Moray intercepts her forces at Langside—The Laird of Polloc brings up his tenants and servants—Queen Mary knights him on the field—Feuds in her army—Defeat of her troops—Anecdotes and traditions of the battle-ground — Queen Mary's flight—She tries to gain the south bank of the Clyde—Opposed by two peasants with scythes—Her hasty retreat—Her dress—Her nocturnal wanderings in Ayrshire, Wigtownshire, and Galloway — Her halt at Queenshill — Crosses the Dee—Her friends break down the bridge behind her—The cottage at Culdoach—Queen Mary's coarse repast—She goes with Lord Herries to Corrah Castle, and Terregles—Proceeds to Dundrennan Abbey—Hears disastrous tidings—Writes to Queen Elizabeth, and sends the token-ring—Passes the night at Hazlefield—Historical traditions of her visit—Holds her last Council at Dundrennan Abbey—Her friends dissuade her from going to England—Her obstinate determination—Excitement of temper—Embarks in a common fisher-boat—She leaves Scotland for ever.

MARY required not to issue her royal letters commanding the attendance of her nobles at Hamilton, for a great majority of the peers of Scotland rallied round her as soon as the joyous tidings of her arrival there transpired. They immediately formed themselves into a legal convention, assuming the functions of a Parliament, to assist her with their counsel and support, and, having listened to her recital of the constraint and injurious treatment to which

she had been subjected, gave indubitable proofs that her explanations were satisfactory to them, and that they reposed the fullest confidence in her integrity. They pronounced "that her abdication, having been extorted from her by fear in prison, of which her Majesty's oath was sufficient attestation, was null and void, and of none effect, and that all the acts passed by the pretended Parliament that had been convened without her authority were invalid." The next day Mary sent a deputation to the Earl of Moray and his confederates,[1] with a copy of her revocation of the Abdication which, for the preservation of her life, she had been forced to sign, and requiring them, as God had mercifully delivered her out of captivity, to restore her peacefully to her royal dignity and estate, and promising that, if they would comply with her just demand, she would remit and forgive all they had done against her person and honour.[2] Moray, to gain time, affected to enter into an amicable negotiation, but took active measures for defending the power he had acquired. The bones and sinews of war were in his possession; for he had got the revenues of the Crown and all Mary's plate and jewels in his hands, as well as the royal arsenals in Edinburgh and Stirling castles and Dunbar. Moreover, the pulpits were at his command, and resounded with anathemas against the Queen, her well-wishers, and defenders. Epithets too coarse for repetition were bestowed upon her, and charges which have never been proved were promulgated against her, in sermons and circular letters, by the fanatical zealots and political organs of the prevailing faction.

At the first news of Mary's escape, Beaumont the French Ambassador hastened to offer his congratulations to her in person at Hamilton. He dates from thence a letter to the Queen-mother on the 4th of May, informing her "that he had, on his first arrival, delivered private letters from the King his master to several of the nobles of Scotland, and had found them affectionately disposed towards the service of the Queen, their native Princess, who was at that time

[1] Keith, 472.
[2] Drury to Cecil, 7th May. Keith; Bell; Chalmers.

a close prisoner. Yesterday," adds he, "she saved herself in the manner that will be related by the bearer of this, to whom I remit all; for I am unable to write more than this, that I praise God heartily that He has, of His mercy, granted her the means to escape from the danger in which she would in a short time have been involved."[1] Beaumont, unlike his predecessor Lignerolles, had exerted himself heartily in behalf of her whom he had once had the honour of serving as his Queen. Throckmorton writes to Sir Robert Melville, who was, as we have shown, making, just then, fair weather to Mary: "You have now in your country Monsieur de Beaumont, who will do what he can to overthrow all that has been so well begun and so happily continued. Although I am well acquainted with the great prudence of the Lord Regent, and the wisdom of those he has with him, they should be on their guard lest they be outwitted by the subtle devices of their foes."[2]

The regret expressed by Throckmorton to his friend and correspondent Moray, for Mary's escape from Lochleven, betrays the treacherous part played by him from first to last in the plot against her. Throwing off the mask of sympathy and compassion for her calamities, he wrote to the usurper of her realm: "Since your last letter by Elphinstone on the first of May, we have learned that the Queen has escaped from Lochleven, which thing, I can assure you, has much grieved your friends, and they are no less astonished that no greater care has been taken in a matter of such vast importance. Inasmuch as I am ignorant of the circumstances under which it occurred, I can only commit you to the keeping of God, who, as I assure myself, will prosper you, as before, to His own glory."[3] To Sir William Drury's first announcement of the rumour that the royal captive had broken her chains, he replies: "Your tidings of the flight of that Queen have much astonished us, and being since confirmed by others, startle us no less with the apprehension of the ills that may result from it both to you and us. However, I praise God

[1] Teulet's Collections, vol. ii. p. 203. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

for this, that the Queen our mistress deliberates on aiding the good Lord Moray rather than that unhappy woman and her allies." In the same inimical spirit towards Mary which pervades all his letters, Drury rejoins, "that the *bad* news is confirmed;" adding, "what dangerous affliction is now to follow may be judged, for what has been always feared is now come to pass."[1]

Within the month Drury had reported, to Mary's disparagement, that she was so much enamoured of George Douglas as to ask Moray to let her have him for a husband, and even that she had broken the matter to his mother, the Lady of Lochleven.[2] But how little regard is due to his statements may be perceived by the fact, that as soon as the fair Sovereign was at liberty to please herself if she had cherished such feelings towards her deliverer as pretended, he changes his tone, and attempts to fix a charge of ingratitude on her, by accusing her of neglecting that faithful servant, after he had performed such a signal service for her. "I hear," he writes, "that George Douglas, notwithstanding his great merit for her liberty, is now but little accounted of."[3] Mary's subsequent conduct to George Douglas, as well as her private and confidential letters to the King and Queen-mother of France, and her faithful friend and minister Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, proves how deeply she felt her obligation to him; while the generous manner in which she endeavoured, by a considerable pecuniary sacrifice, to facilitate his marriage to a young French heiress, to whom he had been long attached, shows that her feelings towards him had never been otherwise than beseemed the dignity of his Sovereign.

If anything further than the letters of Drury and Throckmorton be required to prove the confederacy between the English Government and the Earl of Moray, it will only be necessary to expose the disgraceful fact of the traffic for Queen Mary's costly *parure* of pearls, her own personal property, which she had brought with her from France.

[1] Drury to Cecil, April 2, 1568. State Paper MS.—inedited Border Correspondence. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., May 7—in Keith.

A few days before she effected her escape from Lochleven Castle, the righteous Regent sent these, with a choice selection of her jewels, very secretly to London, by his trusty agent Sir Nicholas Elphinstone, who undertook to negotiate their sale, with the assistance of Throckmorton, to whom he was directed for that purpose. As these pearls were considered the most magnificent in Europe, Queen Elizabeth was complimented with the first offer of them. "She saw them yesterday, May 2," writes Bochetel la Forrest, the French ambassador at the Court of England, "in the presence of the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, and pronounced them to be of unparalleled beauty."[1] He thus describes them: "There are six cordons of large pearls, strung as paternosters; but there are five-and-twenty separate from the rest, much finer and larger than those which are strung. These are, for the most part, like black muscades.[2] They had not been here more than three days when they were appraised by various merchants, this Queen wishing to have them at the sum named by the jeweller, who would have made his profit by selling them again. They were first shown to three or four working jewellers and lapidaries, by whom they were estimated at three thousand pounds sterling (about ten thousand crowns), and who offered to give that sum for them. Several Italian merchants came after them, who valued them at twelve thousand crowns, which is the price, as I am told, this Queen (Elizabeth) will take them at. There is a Genevese who saw them after the others, and said they were worth sixteen thousand crowns, but I think they will allow her to have them for twelve thousand. In the mean time," continues he, in his letter to Catherine de Medicis, "I have not delayed giving your Majesty timely notice of what was going on, though I doubt she will not allow them to escape her. The rest of the jewels are not near so valuable as the pearls. The only thing I have

[1] Labanoff, vol. vii. pp. 132, 133.

[2] A very rare and valuable variety of pearl has the deep purple colour and bloom of the Muscatel grape.

heard particularly described is a piece of unicorn's horn richly carved and decorated."[1] Mary's royal mother-in-law of France, no whit more scrupulous than her good cousin of England, was eager to compete with the latter for the purchase of the pearls, knowing that they were worth nearly double the sum at which they had been valued in London. Some of them she had herself presented to Mary, and especially desired to recover;[2] but the Ambassador wrote to her in reply that "he had found it impossible to accomplish her desire of obtaining the Queen of Scots' pearls, for, as he had told her from the first, they were intended for the gratification of the Queen of England, who had been allowed to purchase them at her own price, and they were now in her hands."[3]

Inadequate though the sum for which her pearls were sold was to their real value, it assisted in turning the scale against their rightful owner in the contest for the recovery of her throne. Being without an exchequer or jewels and plate on which to raise money, Mary had no means of procuring arms, ammunition, or military equipments, for the unarmed, undisciplined muster that thronged to the upraising of the royal standard at Hamilton on the 8th of May. The French Ambassador remarked that he had never seen so many men so speedily convened. They amounted, indeed, to nearly six thousand. Nine Earls, nine Bishops, and eighteen Lords, with many other gentlemen of consideration in that neighbourhood, entered into a bond or written engagement for her defence, which they signed that day.[4] The question was proposed whether the Queen should be conducted, for the present, to the stronghold of her loyal nobles at Dumbarton, for safety of her person, and facility of retreat to France if her cause proved unprosperous. The hearts of the loyal muster were too high to provide for a contingency which they

[1] Labanoff, vol. vii. pp. 132, 133. Bochetel La Forrest to Catherine de Medicis, May 8, 1568.

[2] See also the correspondence between Catherine and Bochetel La Forrest, in Teulet, vol ii. pp. 214, 217-18.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Keith, and Cotton. Library, Brit. Museum.

deemed impossible to happen. Mary, in the hope of avoiding the effusion of her subjects' blood, made an ineffectual attempt to renew pacific negotiations with Moray, when she heard he was no farther off than Glasgow; but he arrested her messenger and laid him in irons. Thus she lost time, and allowed the ardour of her unpaid troops to cool, instead of marching forward with the energy and decision the nature of the crisis ought to have suggested. Moray's party prudently smothered the differences, which had lately broken out among them, in that unity of purpose and action the exigences of their cause required; while selfish jealousies and struggles for the pre-eminence in Mary's camp and council introduced those elements of division which rendered their loyalty unavailing. Lord Claud Hamilton aspired to the command of the Queen's army; and this office was fiercely claimed by the Earl of Argyll,[1] the husband of her natural sister, on whom it was unhappily conferred by her Majesty, although she had no reason to place much confidence either in his military abilities or his principles, as he had been in arms against her, and, till the last few months, allied with his brother-in-law Moray in treason. Moray, whose forces barely amounted to four thousand men, was advised to fall back to Stirling; but having already become unpopular, he was well aware that if he appeared intimidated, and ventured to retreat, the whole country would be up for the Queen. Huntley was raising the men of Aberdeenshire, and all the Gordon puissance, for her service. A violent flood of rain, which rendered the rivers in those districts impassable, alone prevented the loyal chivalry of the northern counties from coming up in time to decide the contest in favour of the Queen. Succours from France might also be expected. Unless Moray had made a bold stroke to win the game before her whole strength was consolidated, the chances would have been fearfully against him; he threw all on one bold stake, and was successful.

The night before the disastrous conflict that annihilated

[1] Chalmers. Keith. Drury's Letters.—State Paper MSS.

her last hopes, the Queen slept at Castlemilk, a moated and embattled mansion in Renfrewshire, several miles nearer to Dumbarton than the quarters she had occupied for the last nine days—Hamilton Castle and the ancient fortress of Draffan. At Castlemilk she was the guest of her loyal kinsman Sir John Stuart, who was also nearly related to Darnley. The chamber she occupied is still known by the name of Queen Mary's Room. It is a spacious square apartment, with three deeply embayed windows, looking to three different points of the compass. The curiously carved ceiling and oak-panelled walls have been filled up with disfiguring plaster in the close of the last century.

It was from the battlements of Castlemilk that Mary is supposed to have first beheld the rebel troops advancing with the rival royal banner they had unfurled against her in the name of her infant boy. On the morning of that fatal day, May 13th, Maxwell, the loyal Laird of Nether Polloc, brought up his vassals, tenants, and domestic servants to her assistance. This he would scarcely have done had there been any real cause for believing her guilty of Darnley's murder, as he was one of his nearest relations, being the grandson of his aunt, Lady Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of the late Earl of Lennox. Mary welcomed Maxwell with exceeding great joy, not only because of the additional spears he brought to her aid in the hour of need, but on account of the favourable impression this friendly demonstration of his respect for her was calculated to produce. As a token of her gratitude, she knighted him under the royal standard; and this was the last chivalric honour she ever had in her power to bestow. The age of chivalry had expired in Scotland ere the brutal treatment of this lovely and confiding Princess, after her surrender at Carberry Hill, was permitted by her countrymen and subjects; yet the reflection of its last beams lives in the manly heart of many a true Scot, who, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, is as ready to do battle with pen or sword in defence of Mary Stuart's honour as her generous knight-banneret of Polloc was to peril his

life and fortune for her sake on the disastrous field of Langside.[1]

Mary was, as usual, bought and sold. One of the traitors who had openly joined her muster at Hamilton, the more effectually to act the part of a spy, betrayed her plan for surrounding the rebel army to Moray, and advised him to advance and take possession of the height above the village of Langside, called in memory of that circumstance Battlehill.[2] Moray accomplished this manœuvre with great celerity, by ordering every one of his horsemen to take a foot-soldier up behind him. Thus the hill was scaled in double-quick time. On another height called Hagbush-hill, in the parish of Govan, tradition points to the remains of a stately thorn, now in the last stage of decay, by the name of the King's Thorn, beneath which, it is asserted, under the guard of a strong body of reserved horsemen, commanded by the Earl of Mar, and overshadowed by the royal banner, stood the cradle of Mary's infant boy, whom they ventured not to leave at Stirling for fear of a surprise in the absence of the garrison. There is no documentary confirmation of this, but the circumstance is implicitly believed by every one in that neighbourhood, from the laird to the shepherd boy. Oral tradition has indeed connected every feature of that historic ground with the events of the day. Half-way up the green hill behind Castlemilk is the venerable hawthorn called "The Queen's Thorn," beneath the spreading boughs of which, then white with budding blossoms, the anxious Sovereign is affirmed to have stood with her faithful ladies and a little knot of devoted friends, watching the fortunes of the fight, one of her equerries holding her horse bridled and saddled, ready for her to mount in the event of the day

[1] Maxwell was amerced by the victorious Moray in no less a sum than £1000 for his gallant demonstration in favour of his injured Sovereign Lady that day,—nearly £5000 of present currency. It must be admitted that his fee of knighthood cost him dear; but the wealth of a modern millionaire could not purchase such a remembrance as that which warms the hearts of his descendants!

[2] On the estate of Sir John Maxwell, Bart., of Nether Polloc, Renfrewshire.

going against her. During that pause of agonising excitement, becoming intensely thirsty, the Queen is said to have cooled her fevered lips by drinking repeatedly of the gushing waters of the little burn that trickled from the green brae above her. It still purls from its slender urn, and is called Queen Mary's Spring. From that eminence Mary could see beyond the battle-ground the Highland hills, the silver line of the Clyde, and the rock of Dumbarton, with its cleft crown, like two round black spots, distinctly visible, but impossible for her to reach with that formidable array of hostile spears bristling between her and the last stronghold in Scotland where her authority was maintained. Tradition also points out another Queen's Thorn on the hill, behind the ruined keep of Cathcart Castle, as the precise spot whence Mary witnessed the ruin of her cause at Langside, and there is no reason to doubt the possibility of her having retreated from Castlemilk to Cathcart when she found the fortunes of the day going against her.

Brantôme declares "the Queen-mother of France assured him 'that Mary mounted her good hackney, and rode into the battle like another Zenobia, to encourage her troops to advance, and would fain have led them to the charge in person; but she found them all quarrelling among themselves, insensible to her eloquence, and more inclined to exchange blows with each other than to attack the rebel host.' Nor was this all, for she had reason to fear that some of them were in league with the conspirators, and were plotting to seize her person and carry her off as a prisoner to England."[1] That treason was in her ranks there can be no doubt, for how otherwise can the mystery be solved, that, notwithstanding her great numerical superiority, only one man was slain on the Regent's side, though some of his partisan lords were wounded; while, on the Queen's, a slaughter of nearly three hundred took place?

Among the causes of this defeat was the quarrel between Arthur Hamilton of Mirrinton and John Stuart of Castle-

[1] Jebb's Collections, vol. ii. p. 486.

ton, two captains of the Queen's musketeers, for precedency; and the matter being referred to her Majesty, she adjudged it to Stuart for the name's sake, and because she had had experience of his services when captain of her guard. Hamilton took this so ill that, when they came near the enemy, he cried out, "Where are now those Stuarts that did contest for the first place? let them now come and take it." "And so I will," retorted John Stuart; "neither shalt thou, nor any Hamilton in Scotland, set his foot before me this day;"[1] whereupon he and his men rushed forward unadvisedly, and were followed as inconsiderately by Lord Claud Hamilton with the vanguard. Kirkaldy of Grange had posted the hagbutters in the orchards, gardens, and yards of the village of Langside, on either side a long narrow lane with high hedges, so cunningly that they, being at covert, were able to shoot at the Queen's cavalry as at a mark, and pick them off without any danger or hurt to themselves. Many were slain before they could force the passage; and having passed the lane, they were assaulted by Morton and his company with pikes and spears.[2] They fought very eagerly; and when the long weapons were broken, they closed together hand-to-hand, with dirks, being too near to draw their swords.[3]

Mary's general, the Earl of Argyll, showed neither courage nor military skill. Some have suspected that he had a secret understanding with his brother-in-law and old confederate, Moray; but others have imputed the disasters of the day to his being seized with an epileptic fit when the enemy first appeared in sight, which rendered him incapable of giving orders, and no one knew how to proceed or whom to obey.

It has been stated in a local history that Lord Livingstone rode with the Queen at the head of his vassals, "the bairns of Falkirk," as they were called, and that he assisted in bringing her off the field, which corroborates Brantôme's testimony that she made an attempt to lead her forces up to the onslaught.

[1] Hume of Godscroft's Lives of the Douglases, p. 305.
[2] Sir James Melville. Tytler. Hume of Godscroft. [3] Ibid.

Mary herself tells Queen Elizabeth,[1] "that hearing the rebel Lords had declared 'they would recapture her or perish,' she took the road to Dumbarton, and they advanced within two miles of her; but her nobles being between her and them, marching in order of battle, and, perceiving the manœuvre of the rebels to cut her off from Dumbarton, were so infuriated, they made the attack without waiting for the proper order, in consequence of which confusion ensued, and a total defeat took place."

The little village of Crossmyloof, on the domain of Sir John Maxwell, Bart. of Polloc, adjoining Langside, is said by oral chroniclers to have gained its name from the circumstance of Queen Mary, when assured by the gentlemen about her, "that, in consequence of the position occupied by the rebel force, it would be impossible for her to get to Dumbarton," placing her crucifix in the palm of her hand, and turning to them with the passionate exclamation, "By the cross in my *loof*,[2] I will be there to-night in spite of yon traitors!" Alas for her! the broad strong waters of the Clyde rolled between her and that last stronghold of Scottish loyalty which she could see in the distance, but was never destined to reach. Well acquainted with the ground, however, she determined to make an effort to cross the stream higher up, from the south bank, by means of a boat. And this, it is said, she might well have done, could she only have reached the river-side, to which there was a short cut through a narrow lane. Unfortunately it was on hostile ground, being the Earl of Lennox's estate, and two men, who were mowing in a field, came out and opposed her path by raising their scythes against her and Lord Herries, who rode by her side.[3] Terrified at the sight of such formidable weapons, and the menacing attitude of her unexpected foes, Mary turned her horse's head precipitately, and fled in an opposite direction with her little party. Lord Herries decided

[1] Letter from Mary Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth, May 17, 1568—Workington.

[2] *Loof*—Scotch for palm of the hand—Jamieson's Dictionary.

[3] New Statistical Account.

on conducting her into the wild district of Galloway and Wigtownshire, his own country,[1] where the people still clung to the communion of the Church of Rome, and would be ready, if required, to fight to the death in her behalf. Her track lay in a straight line to Ayr; it is supposed that she avoided the town, and followed the course of the river Doon for several miles. Those banks and braes, over which the genius of Robert Burns has thrown a spell of poetic interest that has since attracted the steps of so many Southron pilgrims to the neighbourhood, lay then in unbroken solitude, traversed only by the shepherd or the hunter. No road was in existence at that period, but the passes were well known to Lord Herries and his son. Led by these experienced guides, the fugitive Queen, Lady Livingstone, and her other female followers—we never find her deserted by her own sex under any circumstances—dashed at full speed through mountain defiles, and crossed wild moors, intersected with dangerous bogs and rushing streams. Her attire that day was by no means suited either for amazonian deeds or the night journeys she had to perform through such a country, at a time of year when the temperature of Scotland is anything but genial; for she wore a simple close-fitting dress of white taffety and a crape coif,[2]—probably the hastily-donned chamber costume in which she had rushed from her dressing-room to the battlements of Castlemilk at the first outcry of the approach of the rebel host, and had had neither time nor opportunity for changing, when she found herself constrained, by the rout of her army, to mount her fleet hackney and ride for her life.

General history has narrated none of the particulars of Mary's escape. Even the brief sentence in which Tytler, following Keith, records her journey, is erroneous; for he says "she did not venture to draw bridle till she reached Dundrennan Abbey, sixty miles from the field of Langside." But Mary herself, when she informs Elizabeth "that she was forced to ride sixty miles the day of her defeat," proves that it was not to Dundrennan, her last point,

[1] History of Galloway—Nicholson. [2] Brantôme.

by adding, "Since then I have only been able to travel by night."[1] In her touching letter to her uncle, Cardinal de Lorraine, she says: "I have suffered injuries, calumnies, captivity, hunger, cold, heat, flying without knowing whither fourscore and twelve miles across the country, without once pausing to alight, and then lay on the hard ground, having only sour milk to drink, and oatmeal to eat, without bread, passing three nights with the owls." "I knew several persons," says Brantôme, "especially the Queen-mother (Catherine de Medicis), who were astonished that a princess so tender and delicate as the Queen of Scots was, and had been all her life, could have gone through all the hardships and inconveniences she did on that occasion." According to Lord Herries's narrative, Mary was carried off the field of Langside by himself, Lord Livingstone, and Lord Fleming, George Douglas, and Willie the foundling who escaped with her. She rode all night, and did not halt till she came to Sanquhar, from whence he took her to his house at Terregles. He does not, however, enter into the details of the circuitous route which, to avoid the dangerous neighbourhood of parties allied with the rebel cause, they were compelled to pursue in order to reach that stronghold.[2]

Parties being out in every direction for the purpose of retaking the fugitive Queen, Lord Herries led her through the unfrequented passes of the Glenkens, comprising the parishes of Carsphairn, Balmaclellan, Dalry and Kells. They travelled on the western bank of the river Ken. When they came in sight of Earlston Castle, a stronghold belonging to the Earl of Bothwell, Lord Herries pointed it out to her Majesty as a convenient place of refuge.

[1] Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, from Workington, May 17, 1568.

[2] For these and the other individualising incidents with which I have now the satisfaction of filling up the hitherto vague outlines of the royal fugitive's wanderings, during the three nights she "spent with the owls" in the wilds of Wigtownshire and Galloway, I am principally indebted to local authorities, especially the topographical researches of the learned historian of Galloway, and the late Mr Train of Lochvale, whose accurate knowledge of the district, and opportunities of investigating the papers and traditions of the old families resident in that neighbourhood, whose ancestors were engaged either publicly or privately in Queen Mary's service, enabled them to trace out her route.

Mary became greatly agitated, and burst into tears; but, instead of availing herself of the suggestion that she might obtain shelter and refreshment there, she hurried onward,[1] as if fearing to encounter once more her evil genius in his form, and preferring to brave any other peril than that of meeting him again. The reader is aware that Bothwell was in a Danish prison at that time. But how could the Queen, who had, with the exception of the last few days, been immured in Lochleven Castle ever since she dismissed him on Carberry Hill, be sure that he was not lurking with a band of ruffian followers within these very walls? The wreck of the gallant Unicorn, and the opportune storm in which Bothwell effected his mysterious escape from the pursuit of Kirkaldy of Grange, had naturally confirmed, in that age of superstition, his previously notorious reputation as a magician. Mary, it is well known, regarded with peculiar horror persons suspected of professing those occult arts which are expressly interdicted by the Latin Church.

In the course of her wanderings between her flight from the field of Langside, May the 13th, and her embarkation for England on the morning of the 16th, she passed close to her royal burgh of New Galloway, and is confidently stated in that neighbourhood to have rested at Kenmure Castle, the seat of her loyal servant the Laird of Lochinvar, where an ancient bed is shown as that honoured by her use; but as the Castle was spoiled and burned by the vengeful Regent Moray, the relic can scarcely be considered genuine. Indeed, the best authenticated accounts state that she paused neither for rest nor refreshment till she reached the ascent at the head of the beautiful valley of the Tarff, in the parish of Tongland, called, in memory of that circumstance, Queenshill,[2] having previously borne the name of Culquhae.[3] Here her faithful friends prevailed on her to take a draught of water from a neighbouring spring. About a mile beyond the village of Tongland, Mary crossed the river Dee by the

[1] Nicholson's History of Galloway.

[2] History of Galloway, published by Nicholson, Kirkcudbright. Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account, vol. xiii. p. 55.

[3] Letter from Mr Nicholson, the historian of Galloway.

ancient wooden bridge which at that time spanned the narrowest part of the river. Her foes must then have been following hard upon her traces, for her gallant little escort took the cautionary measure of retarding their pursuit by breaking down the bridge behind her, thus destroying a relic of antiquity coeval with the days of Bruce. While Lord Herries, the Master of Maxwell, and their sturdy Galwegian followers were engaged in this business, Mary, completely exhausted with fatigue and long fasting, alighted, and entering the cottage of a poor widow on the farm of Culdoach, asked for food and temporary shelter. Ignorant of the rank of her royal suppliant, but with the genuine hospitality of a Scottish peasant, the good creature set before the sorrowful wayworn stranger such coarse provisions as her meagre cupboard afforded—doubtless the oatmeal and sour milk of which Mary wrote to her uncle, Cardinal de Lorraine. But, however different from the regal repasts of the Louvre and Holyrood, the fugitive Sovereign partook of it at the time with expressions of thankfulness both to God and her humble hostess, and not perchance without remembrance of the adversity which had tried her illustrious ancestor, Alfred of England.

Forgetful that she was no longer a Queen, or flattering herself with the hope that brighter days were yet in store for her, Mary at parting asked the widow, of whose charity she had been a recipient, what she could do for her to testify her gratitude. The desires of her who, out of her poverty, had entertained her Sovereign unawares, were limited to becoming the owner of the cottage and adjoining croft, for which she then paid rent, and this modest wish was finally gratified, probably through the assistance of Lord Herries, the principal inheritor of that neighbourhood.[1] This little property remained for upwards of two centuries in the possession of the descendants of the kind widow who, like her of Zarepta, grudged not to bestow her precious handful of meal on a wayfarer whose necessity was greater than her own. The ruined shell of the cottage, bearing the name of Dunn's Wa's, was in

[1] Mackie's Castles, Palaces, and Prisons of Mary of Scotland.

existence within the memory of man, and regarded with great interest as an historic site.[1]

At the farm of Culdoach Queen Mary probably obtained a fresh horse, for she was quickly in the saddle again, and, resuming her journey, was conducted by Lord Herries to Corrah Castle, his own fair, newly-built house in Kirkgunzeon, where she reposed herself awhile. The route she travelled appears to have been angular and circuitous, but it was necessary to avoid Threave Castle, and Castle-Douglas, which belonged to Morton's nephew, the Earl of Angus. From Corrah Castle Lord Herries brought her that night, May 15th, to Terregles,[2] near Dumfries. While there she appears to have adopted her fatal resolution of seeking refuge in England, and throwing herself on the protection of her royal kinswoman, Queen Elizabeth. Lord Herries, after vainly endeavouring to dissuade her from this rash course, took the precaution of writing to the Deputy-Governor of Carlisle, Sir Richard Lowther, to request permission for the Queen his mistress to cross the Border, and to ask whether he could insure her safety. Lowther returned a civil but evasive answer,[3] which, if Mary had received, would have warned her not to put herself in so false a position as to claim hospitality in that quarter; but she was too restless to await the return of Lord Herries's messenger. The news of the arrival of Archbishop Hamilton and other fugitives of her party at Dundrennan Abbey induced

[1] Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account, vol. xiii. p. 55; and History of Galloway by Nicholson.

[2] The leading-strings of the infant Prince her son, which Mary is said to have left at Terregles, are still in existence. She is supposed to have taken them from his person with her own hands at the time of her ill-starred visit to him at Stirling, as memorials of a sight so infinitely interesting to the heart of a fond mother as the first efforts of a lovely animated babe to walk. Whether the relic be authentic or not, the tradition is pleasing, as an oral evidence of the passionate maternity with which the bereaved Queen cherished every trifle connected with her only child, him whom she was to behold no more.

[3] Intimating that Lord Scroope, the Lord Warden of the frontiers, being absent, he could not of his own authority give a formal assurance, but that he would send by post to learn the pleasure of his Sovereign, and that if in the mean time the Queen of Scots were forced to enter England, he would receive and protect her from her enemies.

her to retrace her steps through Kirkgunzeon, and hasten thither to inquire the fate of her other friends and the state of affairs in general. She had there the anguish of hearing that fifty-seven gentlemen of the name of Hamilton alone, with many others of her bravest friends, were slain, and the rest dispersed; that her faithful and devoted servant Lord Seton, who had never failed her in time of need, was dangerously wounded and a prisoner, with many others whose lives were in the greatest jeopardy. Such tidings were indeed calculated to overwhelm her with grief and despondency. Unfortunately the token-ring which Queen Elizabeth had sent her had been restored to Mary by Sir Robert Melville, and was now in her possession. This romantic toy, which she regarded in the same light as one of the fairy talismans in tales of Eastern lore, was actually the lure which tempted her, in this desperate crisis of her fortunes, to enter England, under the fond idea that its donor could not refuse to keep her promise. She therefore sent it to her by an *avant courier*, together with the following letter:—

"You are not ignorant, my dearest sister, of great part of my misfortunes; but these which induce me to write at present have happened too recently yet to have reached your ear. I must therefore acquaint you briefly as I can, that some of my subjects whom I most confided in, and had raised to the highest pitch of honour, have taken up arms against me, and treated me with the utmost indignity. By unexpected means, the Almighty Disposer of all things delivered me from the cruel imprisonment I underwent; but I have since lost a battle, in which most of those who preserved their loyal integrity fell before my eyes. I am now forced out of my kingdom, and driven to such straits that, next to God, I have no hope but in your goodness. I beseech you, therefore, my dearest sister, that I may be conducted to your presence, that I may acquaint you with all my affairs. In the mean time, I beseech God to grant you all heavenly benedictions, and to me patience and consolation, which last I hope and pray to obtain by your means.

"To remind you of the reasons I have to depend on England, I send back to its queen this token[1] of her promised friendship and assistance.

"Your affectionate sister,

"M. R.

"From Dundrennan."

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[1] The memorable ring thus referred to by Queen Mary is described by Aubrey the great antiquary to have been a delicate piece of mechanism, consisting of separate joints, which, when united, formed the quaint device

If Mary Stuart at five-and-twenty were not past the age of romance, Elizabeth, who was considerably turned of thirty, had certainly outlived every sentiment likely to interfere with political expediency. She took no notice either of the pledge, or the allusion to her former professions. Buchanan wrote one of his caustic Latin epigrams on the incident.

Though Mary is generally supposed to have passed her last night in Scotland in Dundrennan Abbey, local histories and traditions assert that she did not sleep there, but retired to Hazlefield, the mansion of a loyal family of the name of Maxwell, relations of Lord Herries, where she was honourably received. It is also said that she was much attracted by their beautiful baby-boy, on whom she lavished many caresses, and begged that he might be permitted to share her bed. Mary was always passionately fond of children, and was probably reminded of her own infant by little Maxwell. She presented the infant heir of Hazlefield, at parting, with a small ruby ring from her finger, which, together with the chair in which she sat, and the table-cloth that was used on that memorable occasion, were preserved as heirlooms by his descendants.[1]

Mary sat for the last time in council within the walls of Dundrennan Abbey[2] with the faithful friends who had

of two right hands supporting a heart between them. This heart was composed of two separate diamonds, held together by a central spring, which, when opened, would allow either of the halves to be detached. The circumstance of the ring is further verified beyond dispute by Mary herself, in a subsequent letter to Elizabeth, in which she bitterly reproaches her with her perfidious conduct. "After I had escaped from Lochleven," she says, "and was nearly taken in battle by my rebellious subjects, I sent you by a trusty messenger the diamond you had given me as a token of affection, and demanded your assistance. I believed that the jewel which I had received as a pledge of your friendship would remind you, that when you gave it to me I was not only flattered with great promises of assistance from you, but you bound yourself, on your royal word, to advance over your border to my succour, and to come in person to meet me, and that, if I made a journey into your realm, I might confide in your honour." Gilbert Stuart, vol. ii. p. 232.

[1] Hutton's History of Dundrennan Abbey. Nicholson's History of Galloway.

[2] Dundrennan Abbey is one of the finest relics of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland. It was founded by Fergus, Lord of Galloway, in the

escorted her from the battle-field of Langside, Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, and many other loyal gentlemen, who had secretly convened to meet their unfortunate Sovereign for the purpose of deliberating on what plan she ought to pursue under her present melancholy circumstances. Opinions, of course, varied. Lord Herries advised her Majesty to remain in her present safe retreat, engaging to defend her for at least forty days from the hostile attempts of the rebel party.[1] Others suggested that it would be better for her to remove to one of the strong fortresses in that neighbourhood, which would offer greater means of holding out till the loyal portion of her subjects could rally for her deliverance; the rest urged her to retire to France. They represented to her that the place she had once occupied in that realm, the influence of her uncles, and her own possessions there, together with the natural disposition of the people to succour unfortunate princes, would insure a favourable reception for her.[2]

Mary refused to adopt any of these counsels. "It was impossible," she said, "for her to remain safely in any part of her realm, not knowing whom to trust." This was both an ungrateful and unseasonable remark, considering the dangers that all present were incurring by their adherence to her cause. The agonising excitement of the last fortnight, the overthrow of all her hopes, the sorrow of mind and the preternatural fatigue she had gone through, together with her want of sleep, had evidently induced irritability that unfitted her for seeing things in their proper light. She was not in a state to listen to reason; and she went on to say, "that as to retiring into France, she would never go

year 1142 for a community of Cistercian monks from Rivaulx. It is a stately cruciform structure, built of grey stone, with graceful clustered columns and lofty arches, and a central tower two hundred feet in height. The celebrated wizard, Michael Scott, is said to have been a monk of Dundrennan. This noble and venerable pile is seated on a gentle eminence in a picturesque valley, surrounded with lofty hills which command a view of the Solway Firth and the English mountains. A beautiful rivulet called the Abbey Burn flows past the walls.

[1] Teulet's Pièces et Documens, vol. ii. p. 234.

[2] Marie Stuart, Royne d'Escosse, Nouvelle Historique. Printed at Paris, 1675.

as a fugitive, without a retinue, into a country of which she had worn the crown-matrimonial with so much éclat." In short, Mary, like many others, had taken her resolution before she asked advice which she did not intend to follow. She could see the English mountains on the other side the bay, and a strange infatuation came over her. She determined to cross the gulf, and throw herself upon the friendship of her royal kinswoman, Queen Elizabeth, who had made her so many flattering promises of assistance. She would present herself before her, and explain to her in a personal conference all the ill treatment to which she, a crowned and anointed Sovereign, descended from the same royal stock, had been subjected from an insolent faction; and she would demonstrate to her sister Sovereign the expediency of making common cause with her for the chastisement of rebellious subjects. Mary Stuart deluded herself by reasoning on general principles, and shutting her eyes to facts which ought to have convinced her she could not commit a greater folly than confiding herself to the honour of a Princess who had been the means of fomenting all the plots and insurrections that had distracted her realm, and who had supplied Moray and his confederates with the means of defying her authority. Her own pen has left a brief record of some of the particulars of that council where, for the last time, she sat in freedom as a Queen, surrounded by her loyal peers. She names, among the principal of those who opposed her fatal resolution of seeking refuge in England, the Archbishop of St Andrews, Lord Herries, Lord Fleming, and the Laird of Lochinvar, who, finding her deaf to their entreaties, requested her to sign instruments acquitting them of having given her advice to leave the realm, for which hazardous step they repeatedly protested there was no necessity. "They cautioned me," she says, "against trusting to the friendly professions of the Queen of England, and besought me to call to mind how certain of my royal ancestors, especially James I., on venturing into that realm in time of peace, had been treacherously

constituted prisoner, and detained many years in captivity, observing that my royal father, when on his way to meet King Henry VIII. at York, did wisely in turning back when counselled by his faithful peers not to proceed. But I," continues Mary, with unavailing regret, "commanded my best friends to permit me to have my own will."[1]

Lord Herries and Lord Fleming, finding they could not prevail on their unfortunate Sovereign to give up her rash purpose, determined to share her perils. She was also accompanied by Lord and Lady Livingstone, Lord Boyd, George Douglas, Willie Douglas, and other devoted followers, amounting in all to sixteen. Not one of the party had made the slightest preparation for the voyage, and the only vessel that could be obtained for the Queen's use was a common fishing-boat.[2]

Those only who are acquainted with that stormy coast can form a correct estimate of the rashness of such an expedition. Nothing can be more difficult and dangerous than the navigation of the Firth of Solway for small vessels; the most experienced mariners will not attempt the passage unless under a favourable conjunction of wind and tide; and it not unfrequently happens that boats which have put out with a fair wind encounter sudden squalls, are tossed about, driven out of their course, and unable to make a port for several days. Mary was undoubtedly warned of all these contingencies, and perhaps reminded of the fact that, within the century, Margaret of Anjou and her little son Edward, Prince of Wales, had nearly lost their lives in a similar adventure, from their boat striking on the bar in the mouth of Kirkcudbright harbour, very near that spot. With the reckless courage, joined to the fatal obstinacy, of her race, Mary Stuart slighted all warnings, and resolved to brave every peril to gain the English shore. The tide served; the passage might be made under such circumstances in four hours; it was a bright May morning, and perhaps her spirits were braced and quickened

[1] Queen Mary to Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, November 24, 1586.
[2] History of Galloway. Traditions of the Country.

to enterprise by the fresh lively air and the beauty of the scenery, as she proceeded with her faithful little company to the sea-shore.

The place where Queen Mary embarked was the Abbey Burn-foot, the picturesque and secluded little bay where the beautiful rivulet that flows past Dundrennan Abbey, after winding its way over a rocky bed for nearly two miles, through a long grove of ash and alder-trees, rushes into Solway Firth, at the point of Dun-fin. The Archbishop of St Andrews, with several ecclesiastics and gentlemen, followed their luckless Sovereign to this spot, with earnest entreaties for her to remain, where she might either be defended or concealed till her friends had time to rally; and when he saw her actually step into the frail bark in which she was about to expose herself to the contingencies of a perilous voyage, to encounter still greater perils if she succeeded in reaching the English shore, he rushed mid-waist deep into the water, and, grasping the boat with both hands, conjured her not to trust to the pretended friendship of the Queen of England.

Unfortunately Mary had had so much cause to distrust this prelate, that she did not place any reliance on his sincerity at this time, when he was ready to sacrifice his life for her sake in the strong revulsion of penitential remorse for his past offences against her. There was something withal of resentful bitterness of heart in her obstinate determination to withdraw from Scotland. Calumniated, insulted, and betrayed as she had been by self-interested traitors, her keen sense of the injurious treatment she had received goaded her into the imprudence of acting with the pique of an offended woman, instead of the political equanimity of a Sovereign. She flattered herself with the notion that, if she proudly withdrew herself from the realm, her value would be perceived, and that she would be implored by all parties to return, as the only means of composing the distractions of contending parties, and restoring public tranquillity.

When the boat had laboured through the surf, which is

always very heavy at the embouchure of the Abbey Creek, and pushed out in the broad expanse of waters, and Queen Mary looked back on the land she was leaving, it presented a frowning prospect of broken rocks and rugged cliffs, rising like a hostile barrier against her, as if to forbid her return.[1]

[1] Port-Mary, on the Scottish coast, has been latterly pointed out as the place where Mary embarked, and Maryport, on the opposite shore, as that where she landed, with the confident assertion that these places derived their names from these circumstances; but this is a vulgar error of modern times. The names of both are of recent date, and have no reference to the royal voyager. Maryport, which was called Ellensport till nearly the close of the last century, received its present name from a rich merchant of that place, who made the harbour, and named it after his daughter.

MARY STUART.

CHAPTER XLI.

SUMMARY.

Queen Mary lands at Workington—Receives hospitality at Workington Hall—Her parting gift, "The Luck of Workington"—Description of her portrait there (Frontispiece of Vol. IV.)—She writes to Queen Elizabeth—Reminds her of her promises to aid her—Sir Richard Lowther communicates her arrival to the Council at York—Measures taken to prevent her escape—She is carried to Cockermouth—Sleeps at the Old Hall—Generously treated by the merchant Henry Fletcher—He gives her velvet for a robe—English ladies come to wait on her—She is conducted to Carlisle—Lodged in the Castle—Guarded as a prisoner—She receives bad news of her friends in Scotland—Queen Elizabeth sends Lord Scroope and Sir Francis Knollys to prevent her escape—Their reports of Mary's sayings and doings—Elizabeth refuses to see Mary, because suspected of her husband's murder—Mary's indignant remonstrances—Entreats to be allowed to go to France or return to Scotland—Her messenger, Lord Herries, detained by Elizabeth—Mary's pecuniary destitution—Her want of array—Elizabeth's insulting present of old clothes—Apologies of the bearers—Queen Mary's followers and servants—Skill of Mary Seton in dressing her hair—Mary's earnest requisition for her own wardrobe to be sent—Moray detains everything of value—Mary appeals to Elizabeth—Her letter to Cecil—Ungenerous conduct of the English Queen and Council.

MARY'S mind misgave her when she was fairly out to sea, and under sail for England, and she said she would go to France. The boatmen made an ineffectual attempt to change their course, but the wind and tide were contrary, and carried the little vessel rapidly across the Firth of Solway, and drove her into the harbour of Workington,[1] a small seafaring town on the coast of Cumberland. The voyage is said to have been performed in four hours. The

[1] Camden. Historical Traditions of Workington and Kirkcudbright.

boat was navigated by four mariners; and there were sixteen persons who accompanied the Queen. As it was Sunday evening, the general holiday of high and low, an unusual number of people assembled to see the Scotch boat come in: no gaily-appointed galley or gilded barge, with the crown and royal lion of Scotland emblazoned on her poop and silken pennons, but one of the rough crafts used by the half-civilised Galwegians in their fishing expeditions, and transporting coals and lime.[1]

Rude as this vessel was, she excited lively curiosity, for it was instantly perceived that her passengers were neither fisher-folk, colliers, nor Kirkcudbright traders. There are some persons on whom nature has impressed traits of individual dignity that nothing can disguise, especially when accompanied with a lofty stature, and an elegant line of features. This was the case with Mary Stuart. We have seen the ill success of her attempt to shroud her graceful form in a laundress's hood and muffler at Lochleven. It needed not regal ornaments, or robes of purple and pall, to proclaim her rank, exhausted with grief and fatigue though she had been for the last three days and nights, and wearing the travel-soiled garments of white silk in which she had fled from the lost battle of Langside. The moment she stepped on shore she was recognised as the fugitive Queen of Scotland, from her majestic stature, far above the common height of women, and her resemblance to her pictures and her coins. The coarse libels of the traitors who had robbed her of her throne had not then been published to counteract the sympathy and lively interest which her calamities, her high and heroic courage, united with feminine softness and beauty, excited in gen-

[1] Such indeed, even in our own days of luxurious travelling, are the only kind of boats, generally speaking, that ply between the now-populous and wealthy towns of Kirkcudbright and Workington. At least, as lately as the year 1847, when, with another lady, the companion of my historical pilgrimage on Queen Mary's track from Langside to Dundrennan Abbey, I desired, at the termination of our agreeable visit to the noble ladies of St Mary's Isle, to complete the adventure by crossing the Firth of Solway to Workington, but were dissuaded from making the attempt by the assurance that no lady would enterprise the voyage in one of these incommodious vessels, unless, as in the case of Mary Stuart, the necessity of the case amounted to a question of extreme urgency.

erous hearts; and she was welcomed with enthusiastic demonstrations of affection and respect.

St George's Pier is said to be the place where Mary Stuart first set foot on English ground. Sir Henry Curwen, the manorial noble of the district, received her with great respect, and conducted her and her faithful little train to his own home, Workington Hall, a spacious castellated mansion pleasantly seated in a well-wooded park, on a gentle eminence, scarcely two furlongs from the haven. This fine old house, which derives no slight historic interest from having been Mary's first resting-place in England, and, alas! almost the only one where it was her lot to repose a night in freedom, and to taste that hospitality and kindness which she had fondly anticipated, is still in existence. The embattled gateway, with its flanking turrets, is the same which overshadowed the royal guest whom Sir Henry Curwen brought home to share his Sabbath-evening supper on the 16th of May 1568. Mary was received and welcomed by Lady Curwen, the wife of her kind host, and the Dowager Lady Curwen, his mother,[1] who is said to have supplied her and her ladies with a change of linen, and such articles of dress as could be rendered available for their use. One relic of Mary's visit to Workington Hall, a small Scotch

[1] Through his mother, Agnes Strickland, the daughter of Sir Thomas Strickland of Sizergh, and Edith Neville of Thornton Briggs, Sir Henry Curwen was the cousin of Queen Catherine Parr, the last wife of Henry VIII., Queen Mary's aunt by marriage. By the same maternal descent, Sir Henry could also claim affinity in blood to Mary herself, and to Queen Elizabeth, Ralph Neville Earl of Westmoreland, the grandfather of Cicely Duchess of York, having been their common ancester: a family connection which, though unnoticed by any of the historians who record Mary's brief sojourn at Workington Hall, was not likely to have been forgotten by her host, who recognised in his illustrious guest, and kinswoman in the fifth degree of cousinship, the heiress-presumptive of the realm, and, in spite of her present reverse of fortune, anticipated the probability of her wearing the threefold garland of the Britannic empire. It is worthy of notice that Camden, the great topographical historian of Britain, and the author of the "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," was the nephew of Sir Henry Curwen. He was about seventeen years of age at the time Queen Mary was his uncle's guest at Workington Hall. It is therefore possible that he enjoyed the opportunity, not only of hearing her tell her own story, but also of obtaining its verification from the lips of the noble Scotch exiles who had forsaken all to follow her fallen fortunes in a land of strangers. Of all contemporary historians, Camden bears the most important testimony in Mary's favour in his plain unvarnished statement of facts. "Writing," as he says, "with Cecil's secret

agate cup, or *quaigh*, called "The Luck of Workington," is carefully preserved there as a precious heirloom, being her parting gift to Sir Henry Curwen, when, as tradition affirms, she enhanced the value of the trifling token of acknowledgment her hard fortunes had left her power to bestow, by pledging the family from it, according to the hearty old English fashion, with the friendly sentiment, "Luck to Workington!" This quaigh was evidently brought by Lord Herries, or one of the gentlemen, from Dundrennan Abbey, in the hastily-packed basket of refreshments provided for the voyage. It would be a violation of the propriety of historical biography to suggest the probability of the stout Galwegian lord having endeavoured to cheer the drooping spirits of his royal mistress and her ladies, by proffering an occasional sip of the national cordial of Old Scotia from this fairy goblet, in the course of their passage from the Abbey Burnfoot to the port of Workington.

In the picture-gallery of Workington Hall is the curious contemporary portrait of Mary Stuart, presented by herself to Sir Henry and Lady Curwen.[1] It is in profile, and represents her at five-and-twenty, when the domestic sorrows and successive tragedies of two years and a half of unprecedented suffering had given her bitter experience of the pains and penalties of royalty, and tempered the brilliancy of her beauty

correspondence before him," he possessed the key to many a political mystery which few besides could fathom. Burnet has endeavoured to impugn his veracity, by pretending that he wrote thus of Mary to flatter her son James I.; but Camden was the most truthful and single-minded historian of his age—the only one who grounded his statements on documentary evidence. His illustrious contemporary Spenser, who, as private secretary to the Earl of Essex, and personally acquainted with all the prominent characters and events of the period, was a competent witness, passes the following well-deserved eulogium on him :—

> "Camden! the nourice of antiquity,
> And lanthorn unto late succeeding age
> To see the light of simple verity.
> Camden! though Time all monuments obscure,
> Yet thy just labours ever shall endure."
>
> SPENSER, *Ruines of Time.*

[1] Engraved for the first time, by courteous permission of their descendant and representative, Henry Curwen, Esq. of Workington Hall, its present possessor, for the frontispiece of the fourth volume of this series of royal female biographies.

with a pervading shade of sadness, genuine characteristic of a true Stuart! The costume in which she is delineated in the Workington portrait is a loose gown of crimson brocade, slashed with white satin in longitudinal stripes edged with gold escallops. She has no ruff, but a straight collar, embroidered and edged with gold, open in front to show a pearl necklace, white point tucker, and muslin kerchief. Her chestnut hair is rolled from the face precisely in the style which has been adopted by the Empress Eugenie, so as to display the contour of her noble forehead, delicately-formed ear, and long slender throat. A small round cap is placed at the back of her head, over which is thrown a large transparent veil edged and diagonally striped with gold, which forms a graceful drapery, falling like a mantle on her shoulders.

During her brief sojourn at Workington Hall, Mary wrote to Queen Elizabeth, explaining the injurious treatment she had received from the successful conspirators, who had reduced her to the dire necessity of throwing herself on her royal kinswoman's protection, confiding in her oft-reiterated professions of friendship, and promises of assistance in her troubles. This letter, which is too long for insertion, concludes with the following touching appeal to the compassion of her royal kinswoman :—

"I entreat you to send for me as soon as possible, for I am in a pitiable condition, not only for a Queen but even for a gentlewoman, having nothing in the world but the clothes in which I escaped, riding sixty miles the first day, and not daring to travel afterwards except by night, as I hope to be able to show you, if it please you to have compassion on my great misfortunes, and permit me to come and bewail them to you. Not to weary you, I will now pray God to give you health and a long and happy life, and to myself patience, and that consolation I await from you, to whom I present my humble commendations, From Workington, this 17th of May.

"Your very faithful and affectionate good sister and cousin and escaped prisoner. MARIE R."[1]

The date manifests the falsehood of the charge subsequently brought by Elizabeth against Mary through Wal-

[1] The original document, written in French, may be seen, in Mary's own hand, among the Cottonian MSS., British Museum.

singham, to the King and Queen-mother of France, "that the Queen of Scots landed privily in her dominions, and remained there concealed for several days, till her disguise was penetrated."[1] Now, it is certain that Mary landed on the evening of the 16th of May at Workington, three days after the defeat of her army at Langside, and wrote to Elizabeth early the next morning, and that she was carried on to Cockermouth the same day.

Lord Herries's letter to Sir Richard Lowther having prepared the authorities on the English border for such an event, every one was on the alert. The news of Queen Mary's arrival at Workington spread with inconceivable rapidity, and the Earl of Northumberland, who claimed the pre-eminence in that district, under colour of showing her a mark of respect, sent a band of gentlemen to wait on her as a guard of honour, with strict orders to prevent her from leaving the country till Queen Elizabeth's pleasure concerning her should be ascertained. He communicated her arrival at the same time to the council at York. The result was a warrant from that body, addressed in the name of the Sovereign to the High Sheriff, Magistrates, and Gentlemen of Cumberland, "to use the Scottish Queen and her company honourably, but to see that not one of them escaped."[2]

Thus it is apparent that the Earl of Northumberland, who subsequently lost his head for engaging in the northern rebellion, which was excited for the liberation of the Scottish Queen, was the first person who constituted her a prisoner, under the pretext of doing her honour. After the arrival of the gentlemen deputed by him to keep guard over her, it was out of her power to embark for France, which, with the friendly assistance of Sir Henry Curwen, she might previously have done. Under these circumstances, it is plain she did not exercise free-will in her advance to Cockermouth, which, with its strong and stately Castle on the confluence of the Cocker and the Derwent, its park, forest, and manor, were the demesnes of the Earl of Northumberland.

[1] MS. Minutes of Privy Council—Instructions to Walsingham.
[2] Warrant of Privy Council, May 19—York.

Attended by her kind English host Sir Henry Curwen, his son, and most of the gentlemen in that neighbourhood, Queen Mary left Workington Hall on the morning of the 17th of May, with her devoted little train of Scottish nobles and ladies. The journey, a pleasant distance of six miles, was performed on horseback. It lay through a green picturesque country enamelled with spring flowers, and intersected by the devious course of the beautiful river Derwent. The first bold range of English mountains, Skiddaw "and her cubs," rose in the foreground; while the mighty forms of Screel and Criffel stood like hostile giants across the Firth of Solway. What would have been Mary's feelings when she saw their broad blue outlines mingle with the misty clouds on the verge of the horizon, could she have known that her tearful eyes had looked their last on Scotland, and that in England, the land of promise which lay so bright before her in its May livery, nothing awaited her, the representative of the elder line of Alfred, and presumptive heiress of the nation, but a succession of gloomy prisons and a bloody grave? The dark page of the future was in mercy hidden from her sight, and for the present she had met with a frank and courteous reception from Sir Henry Curwen, his family, and the stout Cumberland knights and squires his neighbours, who mustered strongly round her, apparently to do her honour.[1] She entered Cockermouth, if not with royal pomp, in very pleasant fashion, for man, woman, and child came forth in their holiday attire to meet and welcome her. The Earl of Northumberland was absent from the Castle, being then at his house at Topcliffe; so Mary and her Scottish train were lodged at Cockermouth Hall, the mansion of the wealthy merchant, Master Henry Fletcher,[2] at that time sufficiently spacious and well-appointed to have accommodated a Queen in more prosperous circumstances than those under which the unfortunate Sovereign of Scotland entered it. A dilapidated portion of the once stately quadrangular elevation of Cockermouth Hall is still in existence, but reduced to the lowest degree

[1] Cockermouth Miscellany.
[2] Burke's Peerage, article Fletcher

of degradation, being divided into three tenements, which are used as a carpenter's shop, a beer-house, and a mechanic's lodging-house. Even by the humble occupants of the lodging-house, three large apartments on the first floor, leading one through the other, are called "Queen Mary's Rooms." They are built after the French fashion, and probably served as ante-room, presence-chamber, and bed-chamber for the distinguished guest. In the absence of documentary records, it becomes the duty of her biographer to trace the local traditions that, after the lapse of centuries, linger on spots connected with this romantic portion of Mary's history. The oral chroniclers of Cockermouth declare that their princely merchant, Henry Fletcher, observing the deplorable condition of his royal guest's habiliments, presented her with thirteen ells of rich crimson velvet to make her a new robe; and this pleasing story is verified by the fact that Mary wrote a letter to her kind host, thanking him for having sent her a velvet robe, and gratefully acknowledging all his courtesies to her.[2] Nor were these forgotten by her more fortunate son James I., who, when Thomas Fletcher, the only son and representative of Henry Fletcher, came to meet him at Carlisle on his accession to the throne of England, treated him with great distinction, and offered to bestow the honour of knighthood on him, as a token of grateful acknowledgment for his late father's kindness to his royal mother.[3]

The next morning, May 18th, Mary held a little court

On entering the last, the good woman of the house said to me, "This was Queen Mary's bed-chamber, but she did not sleep here, for the poor lady was in fear of her life, and passed the night in this closet," opening, as she spoke, the doors of an arched recess, which had been partially built up, but was neither more nor less than the remains of the alcove where the bed formerly stood, a fashion of which my humble informant could scarcely have been aware, and is therefore confirmatory of the local tradition, as identifying the precise spot where the hapless Mary rested her weary head the night she passed at Cockermouth.

[2] Burke's Peerage, article Fletcher.

[3] Cockermouth Miscellany. Thomas Fletcher the grandfather, and Richard Fletcher the father of this Henry Fletcher, had first by trade, and afterwards by mercantile speculations, amassed great wealth, with which they purchased Wythop and divers lands and tenements in the neighbourhood of Cockermouth, and thus founded a family on the honourable basis of their own honest exertions.

in her presence-chamber at Cockermouth Hall, for the reception of the ladies of that district, with Lady Scroope, the Duke of Norfolk's sister, at their head, they having been hastily summoned from their castles and halls by circular letters, in the Queen their Sovereign's name, sent by post-haste expresses, to come in their best array to wait upon the Queen of Scotland, and pay her all proper respect by attending her on her journey to Carlisle.[1]

Brief warning had there been for the ladies of that district to equip themselves and ride to Cockermouth for presentation to the illustrious refugee, whom they were required to meet and attend on her way to Carlisle; but it was happily accomplished, and all knotty points of precedency amicably arranged, in time for them to bring her on to her appointed resting-place that day. Surely the details of that memorable gathering of the female aristocracy of the Border, to pay their devoir to the Queen of Scots, the manner of reception she gave them, and the order of their cavalcade to merry Carlisle, must exist in the family archives of the Percies, the Scroopes, the Dacres, or the Howards, and may one day be discovered, and add a rich page in some future edition of these personal annals of the Princess through whom her present Majesty derives her title to reign over Great Britain. There had not been time to convert the considerate present of the munificent English merchant of Cockermouth Hall into the regal robe for which it was designed; and though some useful articles had been contributed by the widowed mother of Sir Henry Curwen and his lady, the deficiencies and incongruities of a toilette thus made up must have been no trifling mortification to a royal beauty so attentive to all the elegant proprieties of

1 State Paper, revised by Secretary Cecil—in Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. Sir Richard Lowther had, on the first note of the arrival of the royal stranger, summoned the gentlemen by beacon, according to the ancient border custom of telegraphing. He afterwards complained that they were negligent in attending to his signals. Yet it is certain a very numerous and splendid company was assembled in an incredibly short time at Cockermouth, two days, indeed, before it was possible for Queen Elizabeth to have signified her pleasure on the occasion, for she did not receive Mary's letter till the 20th; so that what was done in her name on this occasion was without her orders.

dress as Mary Stuart, and who had been not only the Queen of France, but the glass of fashion in that polished court, which then, as now, gave laws to Western Europe in all matters of costume.

Mary had, however, every reason to feel cheered and delighted with her first reception in the realm she expected one day to call her own, for not only was she affectionately and respectfully welcomed by the ladies of the hospitable northern counties of England, with demonstrations of sympathy and deference, but all sorts and conditions of people flocked to meet and follow in the procession which conducted her to Carlisle; so that her journey thither, *malgré* the presence of Captain Read and fifty soldiers under his command, commissioned to prevent her escape or rescue,[1] resembled a triumphant progress. Nor was this wonderful. "Beauteous, and royal, and distressed," she appeared under circumstances of no common interest. Not yet six-and-twenty, she had experienced trials and vicissitudes of the most painful nature; but, unconquered by the inexorable destiny which appeared to pursue all of her race and name, she had borne up under her troubles with a courage, both physical and moral, that excited no common admiration. Many a manly English heart had thrilled at the report of all she had suffered during her incarceration in the grim fortress of Lochleven, and rejoiced in the marvellous tale of her deliverance by the foundling boy Willie Douglas, whose arm God had strengthened for the achievement of an enterprise which the stoutest champion in Christendom might have been proud to have performed. That brave stripling rode near his royal mistress in the faithful little train who had assisted in carrying her off from the fatal field of Langside, and attended her on her adventurous voyage to England. Mary Stuart was the very beau-ideal of a distressed Queen. "No man," says Brantôme, "ever saw her without love, or will read her history without pity;" a sentiment that held good with regard to the high-minded and generous portion of mankind, those, in a word, whom sordid and selfish interests had not hardened,

[1] Stowe's Chronicle.

nor fanaticism inflamed against her. The impression made by her personal graces and winning manners in the north of England was never forgotten. The lapse of nearly three centuries, indeed, has not cooled the enthusiasm with which her memory is still regarded by the descendants of those who saw and judged of her according to the witness of their own senses, and not from the political libels of her foes.

On the road between Cockermouth and Carlisle, Queen Mary and her cavalcade were encountered by Villeroy de Beaumont, the French Ambassador, from whom she had parted scarcely a week before at Hamilton under circumstances far different. She was then full of hope, at the head of a numerous party, in hourly expectation of the arrival of the gay Gordons and gallant Ogilvies to swell her forces to such numbers as might once more have enabled her to drive her perfidious brother Moray and his faction over the Border. Yet she had been willing to settle the quarrel amicably, and had employed Beaumont to negotiate with the usurpers of her rights. His efforts having proved unavailing, he had, on the unexpected ruin of her cause, signified his intention of returning to France through England, but had been beset and plundered by the Regent's partisans, and his servants maltreated, before they could cross the Border.[1] The only tidings he could give Mary were of the most dispiriting nature. He accompanied her to Carlisle.

When Lowther's intention of lodging their Sovereign in the Castle was declared, the Scottish nobles, suspecting that foul play was intended, protested vehemently against it, and endeavoured to prevail on him to place her in other quarters, but he declared it was impossible.[2] The same night Lowther, after he had waited on her at supper, communicated to Cecil the successful accomplishment of what had evidently been a duty prescribed to him in anticipation of her crossing the Border.[3] "I have this

[1] State Paper Correspondence. [2] Ibid.

[3] Richard Lowther to Sir Wm. Cecil, 18th May 1568—State Paper Office MS., inedited.

day," he writes, "accompanied with certain gentlemen, conducted the Queen of Scots to this town of Carlisle, and have lodged her Highness in the Castle. Her Grace's attire is very mean, and, as I can learn, hath not any better, neither other wherewith to change; so as, I doubting that her Highness's treasure did not much surmount the furniture of her robes, I did not only give order for the defraying of her charges at Cockermouth, but also did freely provide them with geldings for the conveying of her Highness and her train. Wherefore I beseech your honour, if it shall please the Queen's Majesty to have her make repair to the Court, that you will advertise how, and in what manner. There did meet her Grace on the way the French Ambassador returned forth of Scotland, who is presently here. How long he will make his abode I yet know not, but he hath said he intendeth to be at the Court on Sunday next. The Queen, since her arrival here, hath had intelligence that the Regent meaneth to execute some gentlemen her true subjects taken at the late conflict, whereat her Highness being troubled, this night at supper with tears uttered, 'that her trust was, if God should presently call her, yet would either her good sister the Queen's Majesty of England, or her friends in France, avenge her cause.'"[1]

Among the accumulation of painful matter that claimed Mary's attention on her arrival at Carlisle, was a copy of the proclamation artfully put forth by her usurping brother Moray and his confederates, in the name of the infant Prince her son, in which the unconscious babe is made to recite all the cruel calumnies they had devised against her, including the accusation of designs against his own life. "In what danger our innocent person then stood God best knows; our father lately murdered, and our mother coupled with him that was the chief author of that mischievous deed." Then, after repeating the falsehood "that the conspirators rose in arms to defend him and separate his mother from Bothwell, and that, she refusing to leave him, they had sequestrated her

[1] Richard Lowther to Sir Wm. Cecil, 18th May 1568—State Paper Office MS., inedited.

person for a season; that she voluntarily demitted her crown, and of her own good pleasure appointed the government of the realm to her dearest brother, the Earl of Moray, as Regent; it arrives at the following climax, still affecting to speak in the name of her baby, who had now attained the reflective age of two-and-twenty months: "What womanly mercy was in the person of her that, alas! thought the shedding of Scottish blood a pleasant spectacle? What favour can men look for at her hands, that stirs sedition against her only lawful son?"

The item in the Privy Purse Expenses for "cradles and panikins," among other necessaries, anent the removal of his Majesty from Stirling to Edinburgh, preparatory to the meeting of Parliament, is sufficient comment on the grave accusation of his royal mother stirring up sedition against him.

Two or three days after Mary's arrival at Carlisle, the Earl of Northumberland presented himself at the Castle, and was allowed to pay his compliments to the royal stranger. Their interview was strictly private; but it was probably in consequence of what passed between them that the Earl claimed the custody of her person in right of his office of Lord Warden. Lowther refused to resign her, and a violent altercation ensued, in the course of which the Earl called Lowther a varlet, and said "he was too low a man to pretend to such a charge." Lowther was, however, firm, and having a band of soldiers to back him, Mary remained in his hands.

It was not till the 20th of May that Mary's pathetic letter announcing her arrival was received by Queen Elizabeth, who read it with outward demonstrations of sympathy and kindly feeling, and ordered that she should be honourably entertained; but privately reiterated the order already issued in her name by her Council at York, "that especial diligence should be used to prevent the Queen of Scots, or any of her company, from escaping,"[1]—thus coolly and easily accomplishing the object for which

[1] State Paper MS.—Queen's Letter to the Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace of Cumberland.

she had sent out her fleet in vain, to intercept and capture the young widowed Sovereign on her homeward voyage from France to Scotland in the year 1561. If Mary had fallen into her hands at that time, it is doubtful whether her fate would have been a whit better; for, as in the fable of the wolf and the lamb, any pretext might have served as an excuse for her destruction. Henry VIII. had not scrupled to bring his cousin and early friend, the Marquess of Exeter, to the block, without a trial, on a frivolous accusation of treason, his real crime being too near proximity to the blood-royal, being a grandson of Edward IV. Elizabeth was Henry the Eighth's true daughter, although, by stigmatising her birth with the brand of illegitimacy, he had rendered her the foe of every legitimate descendant of her grandfather, Henry VII., of whom Mary Stuart, as the representative of Margaret, the eldest daughter, had ever been the greatest object of her jealousy. All the Roman Catholics in England and Ireland, no small party, regarded Mary as their rightful Sovereign. Some allowance may therefore be made for the uneasy feelings naturally experienced by Elizabeth at the possibility of her young, beautiful, and fascinating kinswoman one day successfully contesting the crown of England with her. Her policy was to depreciate and debase Mary in the opinion of the people of England. Hence the calumnious tone in which the news-letters of Randolph, Drury, and Bedford were written.

She affected, however, a sisterly friendship for Mary, and had on the first news of her escape from Lochleven instructed Thomas Leighton, one of her Council, to proceed to Hamilton to congratulate her on the flattering change in her prospects, entreating her, at the same time, not to apply to France for aid, for she would herself assist her to overcome her rebellious subjects. The terrible blow which drove Mary to seek refuge in England superseded Leighton's mission. The game was now in Elizabeth's own hands. Her first care was to prevent Mary from seeking an asylum at the Court of France, her next to deter that

Court from sending troops to Scotland to encourage and strengthen the loyal party.[1]

The apartments occupied by Mary in Carlisle Castle were in the tower (which has since been demolished) at the south-east corner. Her windows commanded a pleasant prospect of the rich meads watered by the river Eden, on the opposite bank of which appeared the picturesque village of Stanwix.[2] Here Mary had the comfort of being joined by many of her faithful Scotch servants, both ladies and gentlemen, who, as soon as they learned her safe arrival at Carlisle, hastened to her. There was also daily resort of the English gentry to pay their court to her. Sir Richard Lowther incurred the displeasure of Elizabeth by permitting the Duke of Norfolk to visit Mary while she was in his custody in the Castle of Carlisle,[3] and he was mulcted in a heavy Star-Chamber fine for this offence; a fact which proves how early her jealousy was excited by the interest the royal fugitive had awakened in the bosom of the premier peer of England.[4] These visits must have occurred before Lowther was superseded in the office of Queen Mary's keeper by Lord Scroope and Sir Francis Knollys; for

[1] The Venetian Ambassador at Paris, in his letter informing the Doge of the romantic vicissitudes the Queen of Scots had experienced in the course of the last few days, after mentioning that the French Ambassador had reported that she had suffered a total defeat and fled by sea to England, says: "The confirmation of this news is now awaited, while the poor Scotch here in Paris keep buoying themselves up with hopes, based on certain arguments of theirs, that the thing is impossible. The English Ambassador, before he heard of this last circumstance, went to the King, and said 'he understood that his most Christian Majesty purposed aiding her, which, in his opinion, would be superfluous, as his own Queen would not fail to give her such favour and assistance as she might require.' These words were instantly taken up by the Queen-mother, who told his Excellency 'that this was the precise moment for showing her compassion and succouring this unfortunate Princess, as she had taken refuge in England.' The Ambassador, who appeared not to have been aware of this fact, declared 'that his Queen would assuredly do so.' Her Majesty the Queen-mother has despatched a gentleman to inquire what the real situation of the Queen of Scots is, and whether she is now in England or Scotland."—Despatches of Correr, Communicated by Rawdon Brown, Esq.

[2] History of Carlisle.

[3] See Burn's Cumberland; likewise Burke's Peerage—Lowther Pedigree.

[4] Collins' Peerage. Burke's Peerage. Family Records of the Earl of Lonsdale.

though Scroope was Norfolk's brother-in-law, he knew Elizabeth's temper too well to imperil his own life by sanctioning any intercourse of the kind. His colleague, Sir Francis Knollys, was Elizabeth's vice-chamberlain, and the husband of her maternal cousin-german, Catherine Carey. These two gentlemen, who were both members of Elizabeth's Privy Council, were commissioned to wait on Queen Mary at Carlisle in her name, with friendly greetings, and to treat her with ceremonial demonstrations of respect; but enjoined to keep a strict watch over her to prevent her escape, and to report minutely everything she said and did. As they were expected to arrive on the evening of the 28th of May, Lord Herries, anxious to awaken their sympathy for his royal mistress, went to meet them on the road. He encountered them six miles from Carlisle, and rode back to the town with them, discoursing by the way of the lamentable estate of the Queen his Sovereign, execrating the treasonable cruelty of her enemies, and with all the warmth of loyal affection protesting her innocence of the murder of her husband,[1] "which," he said, "would easily be proved if she might be permitted to speak for herself in the presence of her good sister the Queen of England." He expressed a hope that Queen Elizabeth would either aid his royal mistress to reduce her rebel subjects to obedience, or allow her to pass through her dominions into France to seek assistance elsewhere. They replied, "that their Sovereign could in nowise like Queen Mary seeking aid in France, thereby to bring Frenchmen into England, though she wished her well, but doubted it would be inconsistent with her own honour to admit her into her presence till cleared of the suspicion of her husband's murder." Herries on this declared his intention of riding to the Court to confer with their Sovereign on the subject. "The very thing we especially sought for," observe the English deputies in their report to Queen Elizabeth, to whom they proceed to communicate the following particulars of their first interview with poor Mary.[2] "Repairing

[1] Letter from Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Scroope to Queen Elizabeth —Cotton. MS., Calig., fol. 79. Anderson's Collections. [2] Ibid.

to the Castle, we found the Queen of Scots in her chamber of presence ready to receive us, where, after salutations made, and our declaration also of your Highness's sorrowfulness for her lamentable misadventure, and inconvenient arrival, although your Highness was glad and joyful of her good escape from the peril of her person. We found her in her answers to have an eloquent tongue and a discreet head, and it seemeth by her doings she had stout courage and liberal heart adjoined thereunto. After our delivery of your Highness's letters she fell into some passion, and with the water in her eyes she drew us with her into her bed-chamber,[1] where she complained to us that your Highness did not answer her expectation for admitting her into your presence forthwith." Then abandoning the language of complaint, and assuming the tone of an independent Sovereign, she requested that, upon good proof of her innocence being afforded, Elizabeth should either, without delay, assist her to subdue her rebellious subjects, or grant her a passage into France, to seek aid of other princes, not doubting but the French King, or the King of Spain, would render her the succour she required. She observed, "that she had come freely to seek the Queen of England's help, not of necessity; for," added she, "the best and greatest part of my subjects remain fast to me still." She explained "that the cause of the war was the treasonable determination of the ringleaders to keep by violence what she had too liberally given them in her minority, since through her revocation of these grants, now she was of full age, they could not lawfully retain it." She affirmed withal, "that both Morton and Lethington were parties to her husband's murder, notwithstanding their deceitful pretences of avenging it."[2] The English depu-

[1] The place chosen by Mary for her private conference with the deputies of Queen Elizabeth was in strict accordance with the manners and customs of royalty in the sixteenth century, not only at the Court of France where she had been educated, but in England also, as we find from La Mothe Fénélon's official reports that the virgin Queen frequently honoured him with a private conference in her bed-chamber, on the subject of her wooer the Duke of Anjou.

[2] Letter from Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Scroope to Queen Elizabeth —Cotton. MS., Calig., fol. 79.

ties replied, according to their instructions, that "the Queen their mistress was sorry that she could not do her the great honour of admitting her into her presence, by reason of this great slander of murder whereof she was not yet purged; but they were sure that her Highness's affection towards her was very great; and if she would depend upon her favour, without seeking to bring strangers into Scotland, which could not be suffered, then undoubtedly her Highness would use all convenient means for her relief and comfort." Mary's calamities, and the false position into which she had rashly put herself by seeking friendship from an ungenerous rival, whose policy it was to humble her to the dust, left her no other alternative than to school her high spirit to bear these insults as calmly as she could; or, to use the quaint but shrewd expression of the deputies, "discontentedly she contented herself therewith." What better could she expect of the treacherous neighbour who had always cherished and protected the traitors by whom the storm that had hurled her from her throne was raised? Elizabeth now thought proper to adopt their calumnies against her royal kinswoman, as an excuse for not listening to her personal explanations. Knollys expresses some uneasiness in this letter to Queen Elizabeth, that "many gentlemen in that immediate neighbourhood and the adjoining shires," who had visited Mary, "had heard her daily defences and representations of her innocency, with her accusations of her enemies, very eloquently told," he says, "before our coming hither;" therefore he ventures to advise his Sovereign to give her the choice of returning to Scotland, or remaining voluntarily in her hands, attended by her own servants; he scarcely thought she would return into her own realm at the present time; but even if she should, the worst that could happen would be that she might get into France, and that could hardly be done, he shrewdly observes, "if my Lord of Moray had a previous inkling of her departure."[1] But to detain her against her will, in a place where so much interest had been already

[1] Letter from Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Scroope to Queen Elizabeth —Cotton. MS., Calig., fol. 79.

excited in her favour, would be difficult. "She cannot," he says, "be kept so rigorously as a prisoner, consistently with your Highness's honour, but with devices of towels or toyes[1] at her chamber-window or elsewhere, in the night, a body of her agility and spirit may escape soon, being so near the Border. And surely to have her carryed far into the realme is a highway to dangerous sedition, as I suppose."

Mary having declared her intention to Scroope and Knollys of sending her faithful servant and prudent councillor Lord Herries, the following day, as the bearer of her letters to Queen Elizabeth, occupied the rest of the evening, and probably some of the hours that should have been devoted to sleep, in writing a long, impassioned, yet not intemperate letter to her whom she had rashly made the arbitress of her destiny. After a few complimentary phrases, she says: "I am sorry that the haste in which I wrote my last letter caused me to omit, as I perceive from yours I must have done, the principal thing which moved me to write to you, being indeed the principal motive of my coming into your realm, namely—that having been a long time a prisoner, and, as I have already written to you, unjustly treated, not only by their acts, but their false reports, I desired above all things to come in person to make my complaint to you, both from our proximity of blood, equality of rank, and professed friendship, that I might clear myself before you from these calumnious imputations which they have dared to bring against my honour, and also for the assurance I feel that you would take into consideration that they, being banished for crimes formerly committed against me, it was at your request I recalled these ungrateful subjects, and replaced them in their former estate, to the great detriment and prejudice of mine, as is now apparent. If, then, out of regard to you, I have done that which has caused my ruin, or at least gone nigh to do it, ought I not justly to look to her who, without evil

[1] Meaning that her sheets might be cut into strips to form a rope for her descent. The lists at tournaments were called toyes, from being separated by long bands of canvass; in French *toiles*, from which word tow, the now obsolete name for a rope, was also derived.

intention, has caused the mischief, to assist in repairing the error into which she has been the means of leading me? I send herewith my Lord Herries, my faithful and well-beloved subject, who will inform you fully of all these things, as well as those of which, I learn from my Lords *Scrup* and *Knovles*, you are dubious, entreating you to give the like credit to him as to myself, and to send me, if you please, an early and positive answer in writing whether it will be agreeable to you that I should come to you speedily, without ceremony, to unfold to you the simple truth of all that has befallen me, in contradiction of their falsehoods, which I am persuaded you will have pleasure in hearing, as you have assured me in your letters that you will take my just cause in your own hands till I am restored to that estate to which it has pleased God to call me, all princes being bound to assist each other."[1]

She asks Elizabeth to give her faithful servant Lord Fleming safe-conduct to pass over to France, to thank her royal brother-in-law the King for his good offices and friendly offers of assistance, which she would reserve for another time, if she should be in need, being content for the present to rely on her Majesty's succour, to owe everything to her friendship, and feel herself bound, for the rest of her life, to acknowledge it to the utmost of her power. "If, on the contrary," continues she, "the assistance on which I rely is not accorded, for reasons of which I neither can nor will form an opinion, I would at least be permitted, as freely as I came hither to throw myself into your arms, as my best friend, to seek that succour from other princes, my friends and allies, according as may be most convenient without any prejudice to you, or interruption of the ancient friendship which has been sworn between us two. Either will satisfy me, although one would have been more agreeable to me than the other. God be thanked I am not destitute of good friends and neighbours to assist me in this my righteous quarrel, were it not for this detention, which, to speak freely to you as

[1] From the Original French—Cotton. Lib., Calig., British Museum—Autograph.

you do to me, I think rather hard and strange, seeing I came so frankly into your country, without making any conditions, confiding in your friendship promised by you in frequent letters, that having remained as a prisoner in your castle a fortnight at the coming of your councillors, I have not obtained permission of you to come and lament my case to you, since my confidence in you was such that I only asked to come to you to make you understand the reality of my grievances. Consider, I implore you, how important my long detention is to me, and be not the cause of my ruin, which, God be thanked, would not otherwise be inevitable. Manifest to me by deeds the sincerity of your natural affection for your good sister and cousin and sworn friend. Remember I have kept my promise; I sent you my heart in the ring, and have brought you the true one in my person, to bind the knot that links us together more firmly."[1]

In her postscript she adds: "Since writing my letter, I have received information for certain how the gentlemen calling themselves regents and governors have made proclamations for demolishing the houses, spoiling the goods, and seizing the persons of my loyal people, whereby you may judge how injurious this loss of time is to me. Wherefore I entreat you, if at least you have any regard for my weal, and of the poor neighbour realm, to send with all speed to command these gentlemen to desist from persecuting my friends; for you will espouse and maintain my just quarrel. This bearer will explain the necessity of it more fully. I pray God to have you in his care. I must not forget also to thank you for the good reception I have had in your country, principally by your deputy-warden *Mester Loder* (Sir Richard Lowther), who, in everything that a servant could without the express command of his master, has relieved me in all courtesy, which I hope you will make appear to him was agreeable to you, to the end that others may not have reason to use me otherwise."[2]

[1] Letter of Mary Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth, May 28, 1568, Carlisle. Cotton. Lib., Calig., British Museum—Autograph. [2] Ibid.

Little did poor Mary comprehend the temper and character of the jealous Sovereign to whom she thus wrote in the confiding simplicity of a heart incapable of envy or diplomatic craft! The nature of Elizabeth's feelings towards her unfortunate kinswoman was sufficiently developed by the following incident: Mary had informed her, in her letter from Workington, that she had arrived in her realm in a state of utter destitution, without even a change of apparel, or the means of providing it. Womanly sympathy, to say nothing of the duties of hospitality and princely courtesy, rendered it incumbent on a sister Sovereign to supply the royal fugitive with everything of which she stood in need, and that in a manner consistent with the honour of the English crown, and the exalted station Mary had occupied both in France and Scotland. Instead, however, of acting with the munificence of a Queen, or the delicacy of a gentlewoman on this occasion, Elizabeth was guilty of the meanness of insulting her royal guest, by sending her such a selection from her own wardrobe as the bearers, Lord Scroope and Sir Francis Knollys, were thoroughly ashamed of delivering. Keenly as a princess of Mary's high spirit and sensitive disposition must have felt the indignity, she controlled her feelings when the ungracious offering was produced, and turned away in silence.[1]

Her indignant attendant Mary Seton followed her example when the articles were consigned to her care by Lord Scroope's servant; for she surveyed them with ineffable contempt, uttering not a single word, either good, bad, or indifferent, in comment. This demeanour had the effect of eliciting an apology from the bearers of the present. They declared such things as those must have been sent in mistake; indeed, Sir Francis Knollys, Elizabeth's vice-chamberlain and family connection, thought proper, in his zeal for the honour of his royal mistress, to take the blame upon himself, by telling Mary Seton that he feared he had not communicated Queen Elizabeth's order so clearly as he ought to the lady whose office it was

[1] Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. p. 73.

to superintend the arrangement, and that she could not have understood that the things which were packed up in haste could have been intended for the use of the Queen of Scots, but for her maid.[1] Lame and improbable as this excuse was, Mary received it graciously, and in doing so showed far greater dignity than if she had insisted that an affront was intended.[2]

Scroope and Knollys were evidently too much disgusted with the transaction to allude to it in their reports of their interviews and conversations with Queen Mary. Elizabeth was too eager to learn what effect this paltry piece of malice had had on Mary's temper to allow the matter to pass unnoticed; and from the tone of Sir Francis Knollys' reply to Cecil, it would appear that he had been reprimanded for not having communicated the particulars of Mary's demeanour. "As touching my negligence," says he, "in not signifying how her Highness's present was accepted of this Queen, the cause thereof was her Grace's present letters, sent by my Lord Herries, who also was present when her Grace received the same; whereupon I thought that either by those letters or by message her Highness [Queen Elizabeth] should have understood her manner of acceptance thereof; but her silence herein doth argue rather her scornful acceptation of the same than grateful. The which I suspecting, before I delivered it, said, 'that it was no present from her Highness, but such necessary things as her Highness was content that one of her maids should, for lightness of carriage, choose out for her present necessity.' And seeing that after one of my men had delivered the same to one of her Grace's maids she [Queen Mary's maid] was not thankful but silent in that behalf, I again said, 'that whereas her Highness [Queen Elizabeth] meant, at my request, that one of her maids should deliver things necessary for her Grace [Queen Mary], I thought her Highness's [Queen Elizabeth's] maid had mistaken me, and sent such things necessary for such a maid-servant as she was herself;' wherewithal she an-

[1] Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. p. 73. [2] Ibid., 74.

swered very courteously, and seemed to take it in very good part."[1]

A description of this royal gift, and the demeanour of its bearer, from the satirical pen of the hapless recipient of an insult so truly vulgar, would doubtless have added piquant interest to the circumstance. The only particulars of it on record are in the reports of the Spanish Ambassador,[2] who tells his Sovereign, that the Queen of England had sent the Queen of Scots "*dos camisas ruines*," that is, two shabby shifts; "*dos pares di zapatos*," two pairs of shoes, and some remnants of black velvet. Doubtless there were other articles of apparel, but these are all his Excellency has enumerated, as a specimen of the munificence of the proud English Sovereign to her unfortunate cousin in her bitter destitution. It was well for the honour of England that Mary was able to contrast the generosity of the merchant of Cockermouth with the churlish conduct of the Sovereign of the realm. Her persevering efforts to obtain the restitution of her own wardrobe and jewels from her base-born brother and the confederate traitors who had driven her from her throne, have been censured as a trait of female vanity, by those who forget that, although the heroines of romance experience no inconveniences in travelling without a proper change of apparel, the queens and princesses of real life suffer greater mortifications from the absence of the usual requisites of dress than any other class of persons, because exposed to greater observation. Mary was not only a Queen, but the most celebrated beauty of the age; and being half a Frenchwoman by parentage, and wholly a Frenchwoman by education, she was very particular in all the details of the toilet. The following particulars, from the diplomatic pen of Sir Francis Knollys, are very amusing, and indicate the minute attention with which the proceedings of the royal stranger and her bedchamber-women were watched and reported to her sister Queen. Sir Francis and his colleague took a lively and admiring interest in observing the effects of the skilful hair-

[1] Anderson's Collections, pp. 75, 76.
[2] Archives of Simanças.

dressing of the faithful Mary Seton, in setting off the natural charms of her royal mistress without the aid of jewels or regal array; he says,—"Mistress Mary Seton, being Lord Seton's daughter, is come hither, and the master cook's wife; so that now here are six waiting-women, although none of reputation but Mistress Mary Seton, who is praised by this Queen to be the finest *busker* [that is to say, the best dresser of a woman's head and hair] that is to be seen in any country, whereof we have seen divers experiences since her coming hither; and among other devices, yesterday and this day, she did set such a curled hair upon the Queen, that was said to be a *perwyke* [periwig], that showed very delicately; and every other day she hath a new device of head-dressing, without any cost, and yet setteth forth a woman gaily well."[1] Although Mary, like Elizabeth and other Princesses of that era, had the folly to wear false hair of various hues, from black to golden—which circumstance may well account for the discrepancy touching the colour of the hair in Mary's portraits—yet we may conclude that the curled hair suspected by Elizabeth's commissioners to be a *perwyke*, or periwig, was her own; for as she had not received any portion of her wardrobe at that time, and was without money, it is unlikely that she should have been provided with so unnecessary and costly an addition to her toilet as a periwig, unless we may venture to suppose that Elizabeth had included one or two of her eighty *altiers*, or heads of false hair, in the paltry present she had sent.

"As touching her Grace's apparel," proceeds Knollys, "besides divers suits of black colour she hath here, according to her desire, we have again sent to Edinburgh to my Lord of Moray for divers other suits of apparel, and we look to-morrow for return of the messenger. But she seemeth to esteem of none other apparel than of her own."

The courtiers of a Queen so excessively fond of dress, and exuberant in all its details, as Elizabeth, could scarcely be surprised at a much younger and more beautiful Princess

[1] Letter of Sir Francis Knollys—in Cotton. Library, British Museum—dated June 28.

attaching some importance to her wardrobe appointments. Scroope and Knollys were married men withal, and fully comprehended the feminine distress of the Scottish Queen at the absence of the brave array which beseemed her rank, and which her majestic figure was so well calculated to adorn. Whether it was from kindly feelings of sympathy, or to put an end to her complaints on the subject, it is certain they exerted themselves to obtain from Moray a restitution of a portion of her wardrobe. Richard Graham, the messenger, returned at last with five small cart-loads and four horse-loads of apparel. What was sent gave no satisfaction to Mary; she declared that the coffers contained nothing but refuse, such as old sleeves and superannuated coifs and ruffs—in plain words, things not worth stealing—for even the dresses she had been wearing at Lochleven were detained. She addressed her complaints to Queen Elizabeth on this occasion, and in consequence of her intervention, "thirty ells of gray taffety, thirty of black taffety, eight ells of fine black velvet, twenty-five gross of black jet buttons, twelve pairs of morocco shoes, at eight shillings a pair, and four pairs of *mulis* or slippers, and two pounds' weight of black stitching-silk," were sent by Moray. The materials for the dresses were mourning: Mary had resumed her dule-weeds. All the portraits that were painted of her in England, except the Workington picture, represent her in a widow's dress. The portrait of Queen Mary, engraved by courteous permission of the Earl of Morton for the frontispiece of this volume, from the beautiful original presented by herself to her preserver George Douglas, from whom it was inherited, shows her in this costume, which she wore for the residue of her life.

Lord Scroope and Sir Francis Knollys came to wait on their royal charge just as she was finishing the letters she had written to Queen Elizabeth by Lord Herries, and to the court of France by Lord Fleming. The painful subjects which had occupied her pen for so many hours, had ruffled her mind, and she expressed herself warmly against her fraternal foe Moray, and the other ungrateful traitors his accomplices, who had driven her from her throne, say-

ing, among other things, "When I was but nine days old, they had a reverent and obedient care of me; and now that I am five-and-twenty years old, they would exclude me from government, like disobedient rebels." This natural, and by no means intemperate, expression of her feelings was provokingly answered by Knollys taking up the cause of the conspirators, which, he is careful to explain to Queen Elizabeth, "he did on political grounds, lest Mary should say she had just reason to complain of her Majesty's conduct in not assisting her;" and he went so far as to insinuate to Mary that she had forfeited the allegiance of her subjects by the commission of a cruel murder,[1]—assuming thereby that she was actually guilty of a crime of which there was not the slightest proof. "Hereupon," continues he, "her Grace beginning to clear herself after her accustomed manner, the tears yet fell from her eyes." Hard as the diplomatist's heart must have been, it smote him when he perceived how deeply his coarse and unjustifiable inuendo had wounded her feelings. Moved by these touching manifestations of feminine sensibility, he changed his tone, and tried to soothe her with deceitful promises of his Sovereign's friendship and desire to see her cleared from all suspicions of the crime to which he had alluded. "For when I saw her tears," says he, "I forbore to prosecute mine objection, and fell to comforting her with declarations of your Highness's affection and good-will towards her. To which her Grace answered very courteously, but forthwith said 'she must go close up her letters to your Highness,' and so departed to her bed-chamber."[2]

It was well for poor Mary that she had an excuse for retiring, and a sanctuary so close at hand, where she could vent the anguish of her soul unrestrained by the observation of the English deputies, who had so rudely echoed, in their Sovereign's name, the calumnies of the subtle traitors who, having murdered her husband, bereaved her of her only child, and robbed her of her crown, had charged their own crimes on her devoted head. Little

[1] Knollys to Cecil, Carlisle, May 30, 1568. [2] Ibid.

had Mary, when she took the fatal step of throwing herself into the arms of her royal kinswoman for protection, considered their relative positions, and the antagonism their kindred created, under the peculiar circumstances of her own proximity to the English succession, and the assertion of her claim to the crown itself which had been made in her name by her father-in-law, Henry II., and her late husband, Francis II. of France. Elizabeth had neither forgotten nor forgiven that offence, nor was she the person to allow romantic scruples to interfere with the consummation of her deeply laid plans for reducing the hitherto free and formidable realm of Scotland into an English province. Could that object, the unavailing pursuit of which had cost the mightiest of her Plantagenet predecessors seas of blood and mints of wealth, be accomplished, if she restored the high-minded representative of the emancipator of Scotland, Robert Bruce, to the throne, whence the pensioners and secret-service-men of England had successfully combined to drive her? By restoring her she would obtain a few trifling concessions; by detaining her person in prison she might gain more, without striking a single blow for it, than her ancestor Edward II. lost on the blood-stained field of Bannockburn. Without assuming the title of Sovereign, she would acquire and exercise a more despotic power in Scotland than the mightiest monarchs of the ancient realm had ever ventured to establish; while Mary would be held as the hostage for the loyal portion of the people, and the puppet with whose restoration, at the head of an English army, she might occasionally menace the conspirators if they assumed an attitude of independence. Such, then, were the principles which actuated Elizabeth and her Cabinet in their dealings with the fugitive Sovereign of Scotland, and which they sought to justify to the world at large, by echoing the political defamations of the usurpers of her government in Scotland. How must the astute Cecil have smiled at the simplicity with which the confiding victim in his toils penned the following naïve billet, in the vain hope of propitiating him!—

LETTER OF MARIE STUART TO SIR W. CECIL.

"MESTER CECILES,[1]—The reputation you have of being a lover of equity, and the sincere and faithful service you render to the Queen, Madame my good sister, and consequently to those who are of her blood, inclines me to address myself to you in my just quarrel above all others, at this time of trouble, in the hope of obtaining the assistance of your good counsel. I have directed my Lord Herries, the bearer of this, to explain things more fully to you, to whom I refer you. After commending myself to your wife and you, I pray God to have you in His holy care.

"From Karlile this 28 of May,

"Your very good friend,

"MARIE R."

Cecil was already deliberating with his colleagues on the expediency of incarcerating Mary in that grim fortress whither, after suffering in other prisons the suspense and agonies of upwards of eighteen years of captivity—she was finally removed for the perpetration of the long-delayed scene of butchery which terminated her life-long miseries, and left, as our enemies assert, an indelible stain on the honour of England. Let the reproach, however, fall where it is due. Neither England nor Scotland are nationally responsible for the wrongs of Mary Stuart. Her destruction was the work of a confederacy—the jealousies, the selfish interests, the ambition of individuals, whom separately she might have defied, but whose combination was too powerful for one woman to contend successfully against. A free press might have saved her, by recording facts as they were, and exposing the motives of her calumniators; but the press was then in its infancy, and under the control of her defamers; the literary power of Scotland was on their side, and hired to do their political work; while the few who possessed the ability and the honesty to write the truth of Mary Stuart, were forcibly prevented from giving publicity to anything in her defence.

In reply to Cecil's intimation of the probability of the Queen of Scots being removed, either to Nottingham Castle or Fotheringay Castle, Knollys observes, "that he had at first feared it might cause some dangerous practices among the Papists, tending to sedition, partly led thereto by the too ready confluence of diverse sorts of subjects to Carlisle, dis-

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii.

posed to welcome her Grace (Queen Mary,) without commission from her Majesty (Queen Elizabeth;)"[1] and this manifests the error into which historians have fallen in supposing that the flattering reception accorded to Mary, on her first arrival in England, by the northern aristocracy, was in compliance with Elizabeth's orders. The circulars commanding the attendance of Lady Scroope, and the other gentlewomen, to wait upon the Queen of Scots and do her honour, were indeed issued in Queen Elizabeth's name by the Council at York, but without her knowledge, as the dates prove; and Knollys certifies the fact "that the Council at York, and others, were reproved for their hasty dealing in that behalf." He tells Cecil, "that as the country round Nottingham and Fotheringay was nothing so much given to Papistry as the neighbourhood where Mary then was, he apprehends no ill consequences from her residence in those counties, where the Earls of Shrewsbury and Rutland bore rule, and would have a careful eye to their charge both far and near;" emphatically adding, "but I trust it be not meant that I should be made a settled jailer, where I have neither rule, lands, nor man-rents ordinarily, for that were too much to my shame, and most against my nature."[2]

[1] Sir F. Knollys to Sir W. Cecil, Carlisle, June 2, 1568—Anderson's Collections. [2] Ibid.

MARY STUART

CHAPTER XLII.

SUMMARY.

Queen Mary's retinue at Carlisle—Their zeal for her service—She demands the arrest of Elphinstone for having sold her jewels—Excitement of her followers against him—She shows loyal letters from Argyll and Huntley to her keepers—They interdict her correspondence with Scotland—Her remonstrances—Excited state of her mind—Her interview with Middlemore—His uncourteous behaviour—Her passionate sallies—Elizabeth's intention of removing her from Carlisle announced—Mary's reluctance—She writes to Elizabeth—Intercepted letters from John Wood sent to Queen Mary with proofs of Cecil's confederacy with Moray—She complains to Elizabeth—The Scotch draughts of the forged love-letters imputed to Mary sent to Queen Elizabeth—Mary's occupations at Carlisle—Rigorous precautions to prevent her escape—Preparations made at Tutbury Castle for her reception—She orders Lord Herries to remonstrate—His bold expostulations with Elizabeth—She promises him to befriend Mary and restore her to her throne—The King of France sends his ambassador to comfort Mary in her prison—She writes by him to Queen Elizabeth—Makes imprudent complaints of Elizabeth's ministers—Her pathetic letters to the King of France and her uncle, Cardinal de Lorraine—Return of Middlemore to Carlisle—Mary upbraids him with his double-dealing—He denies the charge—Declares Wood's statements to Moray are false—Wood acknowledges the invention—Mary writes letters in behalf of George Douglas—Her grateful acknowledgment of his services.

QUEEN MARY'S retinue, soon after her arrival at Carlisle, consisted of the following persons: Lesley, Bishop of Ross, the historian of Scotland; Lord Herries; Lord and Lady Livingstone, both staunch Protestants; Lord and Lady Fleming; Mary Seton, Marie Courcelles, Mary Bruce; Bastian, and Margaret Cawood his wife; Mr and Mrs Livingstone; her French comptroller and his wife; Mr Hamilton,

the Master of her Household; George Douglas, Willie Douglas; Gilbert Curle and M. Nau,[1] her private secretaries; John Beton, Captain Bruce; the Lairds of Whitlaw and of Skirling; a pantler, a cook, a pâtissier,—making twenty-eight persons in all.' Their numbers, however, presently increased; for, in his next letter, Knollys reports her company of servants at thirty or forty; "whereof," he says, "there be gentlemen sewers, carvers, and cup-bearers half-a-dozen, and as many gentlemen waiters not much inferior to the other. Then the rest be cooks and scullions, and varlets of the chamber, and lackies, but yet not past three or four, whereof George Douglas was one, because we found him there. Now, the Lord Claud (Hamilton), the Laird of Skirling, and young Mr Maxwell, with divers other gentlemen and their servants, do lie in the town at their own charges, to the number of thirty or forty more, which gentlemen do between meals come in to see the Queen; because we found that usage, and would be loth to grieve them with alterations until we know of her Highness' pleasure."[2]

The arrival of Sir Nicholas Elphinstone in Carlisle, as the bearer of letters and messages from the Regent Moray to Scroope and Knollys, excited lively demonstrations of indignation on the part of Queen Mary and her loyal followers.

[1] Our readers must not mistake this gentleman, Claud Nau, for his younger brother Jacques, or, as he is sometimes called, Joseph Nau, who held the same office of French secretary to Mary from the year 1574-5 until just before her death. Hitherto the brothers have been confounded together, whereas their identity must be clearly established, for the better comprehension of the history of their unfortunate royal mistress. Claud Nau, the person mentioned in Burleigh's State Paper List of this period, had accompanied Mary as secretary when she came from France to Scotland in 1561, and shared most of her dangers there and in her flight to England. When her French dower was settled for transmission to England, some months later, Claud Nau left her domestic employment and took its management in France, with the aid of his brother-in-law M. Rieusieux, taking the name of Sieur de Fontenay, from his family property. He is often mentioned in Mary's correspondence as one of her most devoted friends. Whether his younger brother, of unhappy memory, Jacques Nau, secretary to Mary some years later, deserved the imputations thrown on him in history, may be gathered from the residue of this work, much new information concerning him having been recently elicited, drawn both from the State Paper Office and the charter-chest of the present representative of Claud Nau, M. le Baron Victor Nau Champloins.

[2] State Paper Office MS. Knollys to Cecil, June 2, 1568.

She demanded that he should be apprehended "as her grievous enemy, and the seller of her jewels," little suspecting that her good sister and professing friend Queen Elizabeth was rejoicing in the advantageous purchase of the stolen goods. Her denunciation was, of course useless. The Laird of Skirling complained "that such a traitor was lodged in the same house where some of their loyal company were dwelling," and warned Sir Francis Knollys, "that if they met him they could not refrain from assaulting him."[1] The answer of the vice-chamberlain was such as to induce Mary to exert her authority to restrain her faithful followers from acts of violence.

To prove that she was not deserted by the great nobles of Scotland, Mary was guilty of the feminine imprudence of showing Scroope and Knollys letters from the Earls of Argyll, Huntley, and Cassillis, professing their entire devotion to her service. The result of this rash confidence was an interdict on her correspondence with her friends in Scotland, and a requisition for her to curtail the number of her Scotch followers in Carlisle. "My Lord Scroope and I," writes Knollys,[2] "have moved her Grace that these young lords and gentlemen of hers, that lie in the town here at their own charges, might be placed from the Borders more within the realm, and also that she would cease to send into Scotland and to receive letters from thence." Mary indignantly replied, "that unless they had commission to treat her as a prisoner, she would not submit to so unreasonable a requisition; for, if she dismissed the friends who had followed her to Carlisle, or refrained from intercourse and correspondence with those who continued to support her authority in Scotland, then would her cause be deserted, and her loyal subjects endangered by the Queen of England appearing to take part with her rebels." Scroope and Knollys denied that they had any commission to deal harshly with her, but observed, "that it would be most agreeable to the Queen their mistress if she would refrain from holding such intelligence." They took measures to prevent it by

[1] Anderson's Collections.
[2] Knollys to Cecil, June 6—Anderson's Collections.

giving orders that no messenger, being a Scot, should be admitted into the town, unless he had a message to Lord Scroope. "I long to hear," continues Knollys, "what resolute order and direct way we shall take with this Queen, for it's time to leave dissimulation and halting with her Grace."[1] In another letter he makes the following observations on Mary's characteristics, and the exciting effect of the crisis on her mind: "This lady and Princess is a notable woman, and seemeth to regard no ceremonious honour beside the acknowledging of her estate royal. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies. She showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils, in hope of victory. She desireth much to hear of hardiness and valiancy, and commendeth by name all approved hardy men of her country, although they be her enemies, and she concealeth no cowardice even in her friends. The thing that most she thirsteth after is victory, and it seemeth indifferent to her to have her enemies diminished either by the sword of her friends, by liberal provision and rewards of her purse, or by divisions and quarrels raised among themselves. So that, for victory's sake, pain and peril seemeth pleasant unto her; and in respect of victory, wealth and all things seemeth to her contemptuous and vile." This report of the high and intrepid spirit of the royal refugee is followed by the significant queries, "Now, what is to be done with such a lady and such a Princess? Or whether such Princess and such a lady be to be nourished in one's bosom, or whether it be good to halt and dissemble with such a lady, I defer to your own judgment." He sums up all by giving his opinion "that the safest and most direct policy would be to aid the Regent in time, and if spots in Queen Mary's coat could be made manifest, the sooner it were done the better." Urgency on such a subject to the leader of Elizabeth's councils was indeed superfluous. The game was rapidly progressing. John Wood, the private secretary of the Regent Moray, had arrived in

[1] Knollys to Cecil, June 6—Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. p. 65.

London with an official commission from the Regent and Lords of Secret Council, offering to make Elizabeth the umpire of the dispute between "the King's mother," the only title they now vouchsafed to Queen Mary, and the nobles of Scotland; thus assuming to be the representatives of that order, although more than two-thirds of the nobility were on Mary's side, and had openly protested against the coronation of the infant Prince. Elizabeth and her clear-sighted minister beheld in this reference to her decision a virtual acknowledgment of the paramount authority of England over Scotland; an acknowledgment, however, which the leaders of the rebel faction had never hesitated to make. But if Mary, the rightful Sovereign of that realm, could be either cajoled or piqued, through her sensitive desire of clearing her reputation from the cruel stigma the usurping party had thrown upon her, into making a like appeal, that supremacy would be established in a more conclusive manner than when Edward I. played his deep game as the umpire between the rival candidates for the Scottish throne; for Baliol and Bruce being Edward's natural subjects, the independence of Scotland was not compromised by their liege homage, as might peradventure be the case if Queen Mary could be brought to purchase Elizabeth's favour by yielding that long-contested point.

No one could be more anxious than Mary to enter into an explanation of her conduct, but not in the way Elizabeth prescribed, for that would have been not only to compromise her dignity as a Sovereign, but to sacrifice the independence of Scotland for the sake of her personal feelings as a woman impatient of unmerited obloquy. With a courage which nothing but the consciousness of innocence could have inspired, she demanded, as she had previously done, of her usurping brother's Parliament an open investigation. She desired to be confronted with her accusers face to face, and to be heard in her own defence, not as a criminal pleading at the bar of a foreign tribunal, but as an independent Princess, desirous of explaining all that might have appeared suspicious in her proceedings, owning no judge but God,

yet anxious to be justified in the sight of her fellow-creatures, by proving her own integrity, and the falsehood of her self-interested calumniators.

The agonising excitement of spirit in which Mary remained at this tantalising crisis is apparent from the following report of Knollys to Cecil,[1]—"The Queen of Scots perceiving that letters were come, and marvelling that she heard not from my Lord Herries, we said unto her, 'that we had letters that her Highness, Queen Elizabeth, minded to despatch a gentleman forthwith to her Grace, and so to my Lord of Moray, for staying him from hostility against her party.' But she, not satisfied herewith, sought to understand whether her party, being forced in the mean time with hostility, might be received into England with their goods? Whereunto we answered, 'that her Highness meant to have the law of the marches observed towards him that had the possession of the government, which did not admit of such receipts; wherefore we thought it wisdom for her party to bear with the time, if their powers were not to resist by force.' The Laird of Skirling, privately conferring with us, 'thought this answer very reasonable and sufficient, since her Highness, Elizabeth, was to deal with my Lord of Moray by way of treaty only.' But this Queen being dedicate to revenge, in hope of victory by aid of strangers, could not forbear to say, 'that she had liever all her party were hanged than that they should in the mean time submit themselves to the Earl of Moray;' and she did break forth into these words—'that if she were not detained by force, she would go into Turkey rather than she would have any peace or agreement with the Lord of Moray so, otherwise than to have them subject and obedient to her.' We said, 'her Grace's mind was so great and desirous of victory, that it seemed no mediation could please her.' She answered, 'that she misliked not her Highness's mediation, but that in the mean time her party would be spoiled and brought into subjection; and wished herself again in her own realm, to abide all adventures;' and said, 'that some of the English Council did mean to

[1] Carlisle, June 12, 1568—Anderson's Collections.

dally and delay the time, to the advancement of my Lord of Moray's prosperity, and to the disgrace of her party in this present necessity.'"[1]

That Mary, however impolitic it was in her to give utterance to her feelings on this occasion, had only too much cause for her exasperation with Elizabeth's ministers, is sufficiently proved by this same letter, which affords disgraceful evidence that Morton was to obtain, through Cecil's influence, the grant of a certain tower of defence in the town-wall, apparently of Edinburgh, which Knollys calls "the citadel," and says "he thinks that, if the three platforms thereof were filled in with earth, two hundred pounds overplus might be made of the lead."[2] "Morton," continues Knollys, "understanding your goodwill towards him in his suit for the citadel, doth with great earnestness affirm, that, as much need as he hath, he doth esteem your courtesy herein ten times more than the value of his suit;"[3] a worthy message for a Lord Chancellor of Scotland to send to the Prime Minister of England! And how, it may be asked, came this citadel to be in the English minister's gift? The transaction speaks for itself, and affords additional evidence of the base nature of the confederacy to which the high-spirited and patriotic Mary Stuart fell a victim. "Surely," observes Knollys of Mary, "she is a rare woman, for as no flattery can abuse her, so no plain speech seems to offend her, if she thinks the speaker an honest man."

Knollys, after mentioning that Mr Middlemore, whom Queen Elizabeth had commissioned to deliver a remonstrance to Moray on his persecution of Queen Mary's loyal friends, requiring him to desist from pillaging and burning their houses and harrying their lands, had arrived at Carlisle on his way to Scotland, says — "Surely I think it had been better for her Highness to have given ten thousand pounds, than to have sent him so soon with this message; for although I think my Lord of Moray too wise, now that he hath brought six thousand men to the

[1] Carlisle, June 12, 1568—Anderson's Collections.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

Border, with great artillery also, to go straight home again on this message, without forcing them to yield obedience to his government; yet, whereas they would all have come unto him within these three days, and delivered pledges for their obedience, now, upon this message, they will take heart to stand out against him." Knollys, when he penned this regretful observation, was not aware of Middlemore's private instructions to intimate to Moray, that he might proceed in his work of destruction, notwithstanding the formal remonstrances of which he was the bearer.

As soon as Mary heard of Middlemore's arrival in Carlisle, she eagerly inquired "whether he had anything to communicate to her from the Queen his mistress?" Being told he had, she seemed very glad, and appointed his audience at the early hour of eight the next morning. On being introduced into her presence, he addressed her in what Knollys calls "a well-laboured speech," in answer to the earnest and repeated requests she had made of being admitted to his Sovereign's presence, and her complaints of her detention at Carlisle. This "well-laboured speech" consisted of an elaborate reiteration of the insulting pretext on which Elizabeth had chosen to ground her uncourteous refusal to allow her royal kinswoman to enter her presence. The coarse manner of his executing his commission, proves him to have been an instrument fitly chosen for the purpose of breaking a bruised reed. Poor Mary could not listen without passionate bursts of indignation and much weeping.[1] She inquired anxiously for Lord Herries, asking "whether he were a prisoner; whether he had received any answer from Queen Elizabeth; and if Mr Middlemore had not brought her any letters from him?" Middlemore replied, "that he could not tell what answer Lord Herries had received, but was sure he was no prisoner; and as for letters, he had brought her none from him, for when, by Queen Elizabeth's command, he had called on him at his lodgings in London, and offered to take charge of anything he had to send to the Queen of Scots, Herries had told him 'he had sent off all he had written on the previous

[1] Letter from Middlemore to Cecil, June 13—Anderson.

Saturday.'" "Then," said Mary, "if I had any letters written to me on Saturday, eight days ago, you may see how little I am beholden to Mr Randolph, that in all this time they have not come to my hands." Randolph had very lately been promoted to the office of Master of the Posts; so that all letters to Queen Mary passed under his supervision; and considering the treacherous part he had played in every conspiracy against her, and his gross violation of the duties of an ambassador, it was not wonderful that she suspected him of detaining or suppressing communications so important to her. "I said," continues Middlemore,[1] "I could not answer by whom nor by whose orders the Lord Herries had sent his letters; but sure I was Mr Randolph would not in any sort hinder the coming of them. Whereupon she lent him a little charity, which I will tell you when I come, and so entered into her purpose again, and said, 'that she did greatly marvel that her Majesty had given no answer to my Lord Herries, she having both written herself, and he having in charge from her to solicit most earnestly for her Majesty's resolute and direct answer;' and said further, 'that which I brought was nothing to that she demanded, and that her case might be so understood of her Majesty, if it so pleased her, that it cannot well suffer any delay, but she feareth most wilful delays. But, now that her Majesty hath her in her hands, she may use her as she shall please, yet she had looked for much better usage than she hath.'"

Mary might as well have held her peace, for to all her remonstrances this set answer was returned, "that the foul fact of murdering her husband was alleged against her, and till some proper trial of her innocency were made, Queen Elizabeth could not receive her." The offensive freedom of Middlemore's language provoked her to a passionate expression of her feelings. "I have none other judge than God!" exclaimed she. "Marry, I know mine own estate and degree, although, according to the good trust I have reposed in the Queen my good sister, I have offered to make her the judge of my cause. But how can that be,

[1] Letter from Middlemore to Cecil, June 13—Anderson.

when she will not suffer me to come at her? But I see how things frame evil for me. I have many enemies about the Queen my good sister, and such as do work all they can to keep me from her, at the solicitation of my rebellious subjects, a Prince, and they but subjects, and yet traitors. But if they will needs come," continued she, "desire my good sister the Queen to write that Lethington and Morton, who be two of the wisest and most able of them to say most against me, may come, and then to let me be there in her presence, face to face, to hear their accusations, and to be heard how I can make my own exculpation; but I think Lethington would be very loth of that commission," she sarcastically added.

Middlemore, following his instructions, next demanded, in his Sovereign's name, that she should prohibit her friends at Dumbarton from receiving succours from France, in case any should be sent to them. Mary, with more spirit than prudence, plainly replied, "that in case his Sovereign would not assure her of her assistance for the suppression of her evil and unruly subjects, she would go to the great Turk himself for help against them, and neither could nor would forsake her faithful friends; but if her Majesty would resolve to give her aid, she would then promise not to seek it of other Princes."[1] Then, after a fresh passion of weeping, she added, "But always my trust is, that the Queen your mistress can do no less, not being willing to help my misery herself, than to suffer me to pass to other Princes where I may find remedy." Middlemore told her, "that since she had put herself in his Sovereign's hands, and made her the only judge of her cause, her Majesty had commanded him to assure her that she would take both her and her cause into her protection; yea, and if, after trial made, the justice of her cause would bear it, she would compel her adversaries to do her right, and help to restore her to her honour, dignity, and government." He then presented her a copy of his ostensible instructions, in Queen Elizabeth's name, requiring the Earl of Moray to forbear from further hostilities on Queen Mary's adherents. This

[1] Letter from Middlemore to Cecil, June 13—Anderson.

pacified her sufficiently for him to proceed to the announcement of his Sovereign's intention of "removing her from Carlisle, and bringing her to some place nearer to herself, where," as he deceitfully pretended, "she would have more commodity and better air, more pleasure and greater liberty." He was proceeding to enumerate other advantages that would accrue to her from the change, when Mary cut him short by asking him, in plain words, "if it were his Sovereign's intention to send her thither as a prisoner, or whether she might be allowed the choice of remaining where she was?" Middlemore, though well aware of what was intended, replied, "that he was sure the Queen's Majesty meant not to imprison her, and that she would rather leave it to her choice than she should think so, and had indeed thought to do her a great pleasure by bringing her nearer to herself."[1] Impatient of this cajolery, Mary told him "that her desire was to come to her Majesty at once, and that if she were not allowed to do so, she would rather tarry where she then was than be carried farther into the realm, which would be only to remove her farther from her friends, and make them forsake her; for now she heard from them, and could comfort and encourage them, but then she would be where they neither could come or send to her, nor she to them."[2] "But I think," observes Middlemore, "she liketh this place as well for some other purposes as for any of those respects she hath alleged, and namely for her escape, being so near her own country, and all this border of hers wholly for her. She 'desired to know of me the place where her Majesty did mean she should remain;' and I answered, 'I did not know it.' Then she asked me 'whether I thought it should be before my Lord Herries' return that she should remove?' I said, 'I could not tell, but I thought not.' 'Alas,' she said, 'it is a small piece of comfort to me! Nay, rather it is a hurt to me to be removed hence, and not to be brought to the Queen my good sister; but now I am in her hands, and so she may dispose of me as she will. But although I be kept prisoner all the days of my life, yet there be which be next to the crown, as,

[1] Letter from Middlemore to Cecil, June 13—Anderson. [2] Ibid.

namely, the Hamiltons, the chief whereof are now in France, that will not quit nor leave their right, but prosecute the same by all the ways and means they can.' She doth ascribe to the Queen's Majesty the cause of all her troubles; 'for at her entreaty,' she saith, 'all those which now bear arms against her were called home and received from banishment, and therefore her Majesty should now be moved to give her aid against them.'"[1]

This argument Mary had already urged to Elizabeth in more than one of the fruitless letters of remonstrance she wrote to her from Carlisle. In that written after her painful discussions with Middlemore, there is a tone of pathetic reproach to Elizabeth, mingled with an indignant sense of the injurious nature of her treatment, which may be quoted as affording a transcript of her feelings at this distressing period:—

"I thank you," she says, "for your desire of hearing the justification of my honour, which ought to be of importance to all Princes, and above all to you, to whom I have the honour to be so near in blood; but it seems that those who persuade you that my reception may turn to your dishonour, testify to the contrary. But alas! Madam, who ever heard a Prince blamed for listening in person to the complaints of those who have had the grief of being falsely accused? Remove, Madam, from your mind that I am come hither for the preservation of my life—neither the world nor the whole of Scotland have united against me—but to clear my honour and obtain assistance to chastise my false accusers; not to answer them as their equal, but to accuse them before you. I have chosen you from all other Princes, as my nearest relative and perfect friend, tendering to you the distinction, as I supposed it would be considered, of being celebrated as the restorer of a Queen, and willing to owe that obligation to you, for which I thought to render you honour and gratitude for the rest of my life. Also to manifest to you my innocence, and how falsely they had belied me; but I perceive, to my regret, that it has been taken otherwise. You say that you are advised by persons of high rank to be careful of yourself in this matter. God forbid that I should be the cause of your dishonour, where I had thought to be the reverse; wherefore, if you please, as my affairs require great despatch, let us see what other Princes may do therein, that you may not be blamed. Permit me to seek those who will receive me without this apprehension, and take any surety you desire of me, that after I shall have been restored to my throne, and all foreigners dismissed from my realm, I will return to explain everything to you for the justification of my honour and for the friendship I bear you, not from any subjection to you or necessity to answer my false subjects."[2]

[1] Letter from Middlemore to Cecil, June 13—Anderson.
[2] Cotton. Lib.—Caligula, c. i., fol. 94.

After expressing how much she is distressed at Elizabeth refusing that credit to her which she implicitly bestows on those who are unworthy of it, she says:—

"Being innocent, as, God be thanked, I know I am, do you not wrong me by keeping me here, when I am just escaped out of one prison, as if I were in another, encouraging by that means my perfidious foes to continue their determined falsehoods, and dispiriting my friends by delaying the aid others have promised if I would employ it? All men of worth are on my side, and my detention may cause their ruin, or compel them to go over to the others, which to my adversaries would be a new triumph. I have pardoned, for love of you, those who are now seeking my ruin. Excuse me if I speak as plainly to you as you do to me. You received a bastard brother of mine to your presence when he fled from me, and me you refuse to receive; but I assure myself you only defer doing so as my cause is just. For it is the resource of a bad cause to close the lips of the opponent. Besides, I know that the commission of John Wood was to procure this delay, as the most sure defence of their unjust quarrel and usurpation of authority; wherefore I beseech you to assist me, indebting me entirely to yourself, or else be neutral, and let me do the best I can with others; otherwise, by delaying the time, you injure me worse than my foes. If you fear censure, at least for the trust I have reposed in you, be neither for me nor against me, that you may see how I shall clear my honour when at liberty; for here I neither can nor will answer to their false accusations, although I will with pleasure justify myself to you voluntarily as friend to friend, but not in the form of a process with my subjects. Madam, they and I are not companions in anything; and were I to be kept here ever so long, I would prefer death to putting myself on an equality with the like."[1]

She begs, in conclusion, "that Lord Herries may be sent back to her with an answer to her requests, and that Lord Scroope may be directed to allow her unrestrained intercourse with her friends in Scotland; for otherwise, as he was proceeding, she would be cut off from all intelligence with her loyal subjects." Scroope was only acting according to his instructions in endeavouring to do so. In spite of all his precautions, Mary's friends intercepted and put her in possession of an important packet of letters from John Wood, the Regent Moray's private secretary, and Envoy to the Court of England, which fully demonstrated the hostile and treacherous part taken by the English Cabinet against her. Instead of silently availing herself of this information of the secret league against her, Mary, the creature of im-

[1] Cotton. Lib.—Calig. c. i. fol. 94.

pulse, wrote to Elizabeth in the following impassioned terms, complaining of the perfidy of her Ministers, and their confederacy with Moray:—

"They assure him that I shall be securely guarded, never to return to Scotland. Madam, if this be honourable treatment of her who came to throw herself into your arms for succour, I leave other Princes to judge. I have shown all these paquets to this bearer, of which I will send the copies, if you will permit, to the Kings of France and Spain, and the Emperor, and will direct Lord Herries to show them to you, that you may judge whether it would be right to have your council for judges, who have taken part against me. I neither can nor will believe that it is you who are acting thus treacherously by me, but that the villain John Wood lies, as all of his profession will." (Wood was a lawyer.) "But it is unjust that your presence should be denied to me, while my mother-in-law (the Countess of Lennox) and others whom I consider my enemies should be admitted to prejudice and accuse me to you. I beseech you not to allow me to be betrayed here to your dishonour. Give me leave to withdraw, that I may make the said Princes my judges, and obtain assistance of their councils, as my enemies have done of yours. God grant that they lessen not your authority by such practices, as they have promised him (Moray) to lead you as they will, to lose the friendship of other Sovereigns, and to gain those who loudly proclaim that you are unworthy to reign. If I could speak with you, you would repent having so long delayed to my injury in the first place, and to your prejudice in the second."[1]

Mary had only obtained evidence of a comparatively trivial portion of the confederacy between her usurping brother and Queen Elizabeth's cabinet ministers. The real errand of Moray's wily secretary, John Wood, was to submit copies of the letters pretended to have been written by Queen Mary to the Earl of Bothwell, to the consideration of Cecil and his colleagues, preparatory to the process in which Elizabeth had offered to act as an impartial umpire. This fact is certified by Moray himself, in these words: "Therefore, since our servant Mr John Wood has the copies of the same letters translated in our language, we would earnestly desire that the said copies may be considered of the judges that shall have the examination and commission of the matter, that they may resolve us thus far, in case the principal agree with the copy, that then we prove the cause indeed. For when we have manifested and shown all, and yet have no assurance that it

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 102. From the Archives of the Marquess of Salisbury.

we send shall satisfy for probation, for what purpose shall we either accuse or take care how to prove, or, when we have proven, what shall succeed?"[1]

The drift of these involved and mystified queries was to ascertain beforehand whether Queen Elizabeth and the Commissioners she meant to appoint to decide the controversy between the Scotch conspirators and their unfortunate Queen would receive the letters alleged by them to have been written by the latter to Bothwell, as proofs of the crimes with which they had charged her. So flagrant an attempt to prejudice the umpires of a cause, and secure a decision in their own favour before the legal investigation could be entered into, was never made by honest men, and affords strong inference of a bad cause. Now, had the letters in question really been written by Queen Mary, why, it may be asked, did Moray and his confederates send Scotch translations, instead of copies of the original French, to the learned English Queen and her scarcely less erudite Secretary of State? Elizabeth and Cecil were accustomed, not only to receive and read Mary's familiar letters in French, but to reply to her in the same language, and would have been far better able to form a correct judgment of her style from seeing true copies in French of letters imputed to her, than from a translation even into English. Does not the fact speak for itself, that the Scotch versions of those letters of which Wood was the bearer were neither more nor less than the original draughts of these suspicious documents fresh from the pen of the Scotch forger, for the consideration of the illustrious English members of the confederacy for Mary's ruin and defamation, previous to the achievement of the really difficult task of putting them into a French dress? For that they were composed in Scotch, the provincial idioms and quaint national saws with which they abound plainly indicate.[2]

[1] Note delivered to Middlemore by the Earl of Moray and his Councillors, 22d June 1568—State Paper Office MS.

[2] For numerous instances of these, the reader is referred to William Tytler's "Inquiry, Historical and Critical, into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots." In the Scotch version of the first letter, Mary is feigned

Mary being desirous of concealing from her adherents in Scotland the painful fact that she was detained in England as a prisoner, endeavours in her letter to her trusty friend the Laird of Rowallan to make the best of her situation, and writes in a tone of cheerfulness that must have been very far from her heart. "As toward our proceedings here, ye shall be assured that we are marvellous well treated, with such freedom in hunting and all other pastimes as we list, and finally, look after such end of our desires as shall stand to our contentment with God's grace."[1] The freedom, however, that she enjoyed was such that she was never permitted to stir abroad without the presence of her vigilant keepers Scroope and Knollys, and a company of forty or fifty men-at-arms, who, under the pretext of doing her honour, and protecting her from the enterprises of her foes, were enjoined to guard her from all attempts at rescue, and prevent her from effecting her escape.

"Yesterday," writes Knollys,[2] "her Grace went out at a postern to walk on Playing Green, towards Scotland, and we, with twenty-two halberdiers of Master Read's band, with divers gentlemen and other servants, waited on her, when about twenty of her retinue played at foot-ball before her the space of two hours very strongly, nimbly, and skilfully, without any foul play offered, the smallness of their ball occasioning their fair play. And before yester-

to write,—"I am *irkit*," which means wearied; but the French translator, not having such a word in his vocabulary, has rendered it, *Je suis toute nué*—"I am entirely undressed or naked;" and the Latin, following on that tack, puts *nudata*—a blunder which Malcolm Laing declares was too great for Buchanan (in whose Appendix to his "Detection" it was put forth) to have made. Malcolm Laing endeavours to account for the suspicious Scotticisms in the French version of the said letters, by stating that it was not the French in which they were written, but French translations made from the Scotch translations of the letters found by Morton in the silver casket. But if French letters were really found as alleged, how happened it that no true copies of them were taken by Moray or his notary? The abstracts sent by Cecil to Queen Elizabeth from the letters exhibited to the English Commissioners at York are all in the Scotch dialect. State Paper Office MS., October 1568.

[1] Inedited letter from Queen Mary to the Laird of Rowallan, dated Carlisle, June 10, 1568. From the Charter Chest of the Marchioness of Bute.

[2] Letter from Knollys to Cecil, 15th June 1568, Carlisle—Cotton. Library.

day, since our coming, she went but twice out of the town, once to the like play of foot-ball in the same place, and once she rode out hunting the hare, she galloping so fast upon every occasion, and her whole retinue being so well horsed, that we upon experience thereof, doubting that upon a set course some of her friends out of Scotland might invade and assault us upon the sudden for to rescue and take her from us, we mean hereafter, if any such riding pastimes be required that way, so much to fear the endangerment of her person by some sudden invasion of her enemies, that she must hold us excused in that behalf."[1]

The indulgences she at first enjoyed were gradually abridged, till she found herself treated absolutely as a prisoner. None of her gentlemen-in-waiting or servants were now permitted to sleep in the Castle, and only three of her ladies to remain with her at night, the three rooms leading to her bedchamber being filled with hagbutters, that which opened into it being occupied by Lord Scroope himself. The solitary casement which lighted her gloomy dormitory was latticed with iron bars, to preclude any attempts at escape. The Castle gates were not opened, unless for some messenger from Queen Elizabeth or Cecil, till ten o'clock in the morning.[2] After the departure of her confessor, Lesley Bishop of Ross, Mary requested Lord Scroope to allow her to have an English priest to perform the daily offices she deemed essential. "There are no priests in England," he drily answered. She was allowed to walk to the cathedral, and occasionally did so, but she was always guarded by a hundred hagbutters.[3]

Preparations were making at this juncture for converting the strong Castle of Tutbury in Staffordshire into a lifelong prison for Mary. Greatly distressed at the idea of being transported to a place so remote from her own realm, she directed her faithful servant Lord Herries to protest against it to Queen Elizabeth, whenever it should please her to grant him the audience she had so long delayed. It was

[1] Letter from Knollys to Cecil, 15th June 1568, Carlisle—Cotton. Library.
[2] Reports of the Spanish Ambassador, June 27, 1568—Archives of Simanças.
[3] Ibid.

not till the 17th of June that he and Lord Fleming, who had been detained the same unreasonable length of time from performing his mission to the Court of France, were admitted to her presence. Lord Herries opened the conference by telling Elizabeth "that the Queen his mistress thought it very strange she was to be sent to Tutbury Castle, so far from her own country and the high-roads leading to it; that she could have no opportunity of receiving intelligence from her faithful subjects there, nor from any friend or relation she had in the world. These," continued he, "were not the promises your Majesty has so often made to my Queen, on the faith of which she came to England; but could she have imagined that she should be treated thus, she would have preferred encountering the hardest fortune that could have befallen her in Scotland."[1] He said this in a very low voice to Elizabeth, because several of her inimical councillors were present, but she bade them draw near, and requested him to repeat aloud what he had just said to her. Herries having done so, she told him "that she intended to take the cause of the Queen her sister in hand, and was deliberating on the means of restoring her to her country and regal authority, either by mediating a treaty of reconciliation with her subjects or by force. For that purpose," continued she, "I have desired the Earl of Moray to send hither my Lord of Glencairn, or any other that may seem good to him, as his deputy, the Queen your mistress doing the same on her part, whereby I shall be able to understand the cause of their dispute, and to judge between them."[2] "I do not see," replied Lord Herries bluntly, "how your Majesty can take upon yourself to be a judge between the Queen my mistress and her subjects, seeing that she is as much a Sovereign as yourself, and inferior to you in nothing but those misfortunes which have rendered her your suppliant."[3] "The Earl of Moray," continued he, "is neither a King nor Prince, that he should send others here in quality of his ambassadors. He and the Earl of Morton are the two who

[1] Letter of M. de La Forest to the King of France, June 19—Teulet's Collections. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., and Caussin. Jebb's Collections.

have been the principal offenders against the Queen their mistress; and if your Majesty desires information from them, let them take the trouble to come hither themselves." "That will be the best," rejoined Elizabeth; "I will write to them to-morrow that they shall come." On the subject of Darnley's murder Lord Herries said, "The principal authors of that crime are those who now attempt to charge the burden of their own guilt on the Queen their mistress." As the sequence to this declaration he addressed the following energetic appeal to Elizabeth: "Consider, Madam, the uncertainty of human things, and have pity on the unmerited calamities of your unfortunate suppliant. After the assassination of the King her husband, the murder of her servants, the cruel attempts on her sacred person—after the prisons and chains she has endured, shall subjects be heard against their Sovereign, traitors against their liege lady, the guilty against the innocent, criminals against their judge? I have not words to describe their wickedness, but I am prepared to come to deeds, and to verify the innocence of my Queen by irreproachable testimony, and papers written and subscribed by the hands of her accusers. If that shall not suffice, I offer myself, with the permission of your Majesty, to the combat in her behalf, hand to hand, against the boldest and most determined of her pursuers."[1]

No reply being made to the offer of the stout Galwegian lord to maintain the innocence of his royal mistress by appeal to battle against all challengers, he took the liberty of reproaching Queen Elizabeth with her tardiness in granting him an audience, "having received letters," he said, "from the Queen his mistress, marvelling at his tarrying so long."[2] Elizabeth replied "that she had been waiting for an answer to a letter she had written to his mistress, on a subject her Majesty had probably mentioned to him." She alluded to the letter telling Mary it was impossible for her to be admitted to her presence, on account of the

[1] Letter of M. de La Forest to the King of France, June 19—Teulet's Collections.

[2] Letter of Lord Herries to Queen Mary, June 28, 1568—Teulet's Collections.

dreadful crimes of which she was suspected. "Madam," said Herries, "I have already answered on that subject sufficiently, and it appears to me that as the Queen my mistress is innocent, there can be no cause for further demur, for I assure you she is desirous of answering in person to yourself, the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Spain, or their representatives, if required. In the mean time, if any of her rebels or disobedient subjects will say otherwise, the same answer will be returned and maintained to the end, whether by form of legal equity or by force; for although they have disloyally robbed her of her fortresses, her houses, her munitions, her treasure, her jewels, her decorations, and even her apparel, it is not in their power to alienate from her Majesty the hearts of her good and faithful subjects. It has been reported, I understand, that her Majesty, thinking to pass into France, was constrained to land in England. It must not, Madam, be assumed that the Queen my sovereign came into England pressed by such necessity that she had no other place of refuge, for before her Majesty left Scotland I offered her, on peril of forfeiting my head and all I have in the world, to assure her safe abode in the district where she was for forty days, and after that to take her, according to her own good pleasure, either to France or Dumbarton, for there was not an enemy within sixty miles; but her Majesty replied, 'that, the insolent conspiracy having proceeded to such extremities, she required the aid of a foreign Prince, and that there was no one in whom she had so much hope as the Queen her good sister, as well on account of your Majesty's great and kind promises as for your proximity of blood, and that hers was a quarrel which touched all other Sovereigns.'[1] The Queen my mistress," continued Herries, "has thrown herself into your arms as the Princess of all the world in whom she placed her principal reliance, and if your Majesty will freely and honestly take her cause in hand in such a way as shall be consistent with her exalted rank, her honour, and security, she will use your counsel

[1] Letter of Lord Herries to Queen Mary, June 28, 1568.—Teulet's Collections.

and conform herself to your will; albeit, she can recognise none other judge than God, she and her predecessors having worn for many centuries an imperial crown."—"I am not going," rejoined Elizabeth, "to constitute myself a judge in her case further than may be for her weal and honour, which I shall tender the same as if my own. The Earl of Moray has referred himself to me, and I will send immediately to hear what he and his party have to say in explanation of their treatment of their Sovereign; and if it be as you say, I will do for her according to my power, as if it were for myself; if otherwise, I will still do all that is possible to reconcile them; not that I would ever undertake to be her judge." "Madam," interrupted Herries, who understood her drift, "if your Majesty should not, with the advice of your Council, consider it expedient to maintain the cause of the Queen my mistress, I conceive that neither in honour nor reason can she be refused the liberty usually accorded to the meanest subject of France or Scotland, to retire honourably from the country; this done, your Majesty will see that the greatest Princes in Europe will receive her courteously and affectionately, espouse her quarrel, and assist her to the utmost of their power. Unless your Majesty take upon you to act as her enemy, by assisting those who have perfidiously usurped her authority and place, they cannot maintain the position they have assumed; and if your Majesty and your Council decide on assisting the Earl of Moray and his accomplices in their unjust cause, it will cost you ten times more to support those disloyal subjects against their natural Princess than to help her, besides the discord it would breed between yourself and other Princes. The time is now so precious that every day and hour we lose is of painful detriment to my Sovereign's cause, by detaining her away from her good and faithful subjects, insomuch that, even if it were your Majesty's pleasure to expend a thousand English pounds a-day in entertaining her without taking her cause in hand, such entertainment would give her no satisfaction, but vexation. Much rather would she return to Scotland in the little boat in which she left it, and go to seek her fortune

through the world, than remain in this realm excluded from the presence of your Majesty, conscious as she is of her own innocence."[1] Elizabeth listened without any appearance of displeasure to these bold and eloquent remonstrances of the intrepid Scotch baron, but deferred her answer. When he and Lord Fleming were sent for to receive it, she declared,[2] "that she would do everything that could be expected by her dear sister, according to her promise; but that her Majesty was well aware of the shameful and horrible reports her subjects had disseminated through the world, and that it would be for the honour of them both that the matter should be sifted; not that she pretended to assume the character of a judge, but merely of the most affectionate and favourable of friends, to inquire of them what had moved them to speak thus of their Sovereign, and by what authority they had seized her crown, her fortresses, and other possessions, in which if they should appear without excuse, she would exert herself effectually in her behalf." "But what," asked Herries, "if it should appear to you otherwise, which may God forbid?" "Even then," blandly replied Elizabeth, "I will endeavour to make an agreement between her and her subjects in the best way I can, consistently with her honour and their security. On this account I wish the Queen your mistress to come fifty or sixty miles nearer here, and I have sent to the others to come to a place where I will despatch some of my Council to enter into the business. As for her passing from my realm into France, I will not so lower myself in the estimation of other Sovereigns as to permit it, seeing that, when she was there, her husband took upon him to give her my style and title, and the royal arms pertaining to my realm and crown, during my life. I will not risk the chance of being subjected to the like annoyance. I possess both the right and the power to maintain it, and I mean to take good care that nothing shall be attempted likely to give me trouble, for I should be sorry for other Princes to consider me so impolitic. As to her return to Scotland

[1] Letter of Lord Herries to Queen Mary, June 28, 1568.—Teulet's Collections.

[2] Ibid.

in such humble equipage as you have mentioned, it will neither be to her honour nor mine, nor apparently to her interest, to do so. I will with all diligence hasten forward the expedient I have resolved upon, and, after that, I will do as I have told you." "Madam," rejoined Lord Herries, "the Queen my sovereign has come into your realm in reliance on your promises and the ties of blood between your Majesty and her, and has put herself, humanly speaking, into your hands. Your Majesty has the power of doing as you please, and she cannot hinder you from exercising your own pleasure; but whatever you do in her cause will be published to the world and her posterity, and all her true subjects will hold themselves obliged to your Majesty; and since this is your intention, what day for certain may the Queen my mistress be allowed to learn your Majesty's resolution?" "As soon as possible," replied Elizabeth.[1]

In the course of the conversation, Herries told Elizabeth "that he understood that Mr James Makgill, a subtle chicaner and disturber of the laws, would be sent by Moray and his faction to lay before her the pretended Acts of Parliament confirming their Sovereign's alleged abdication of her regal authority to her son, and her appointment of the Earl of Moray as Regent." Little suspecting that Elizabeth was actually the custodian of the original documents, blotted with Mary's tears, Herries went on to explain the cruel and violent manner in which those signatures had been extorted, and their consequent invalidity. "Then," continued he, "the Earl of Morton has made the Earl of Moray Regent, and the Earl of Moray has made the Earl of Morton Chancellor, and they have proceeded to make their fellow-conspirators officers of State, such as Clerks of Register, and all other preferments that were in the gift of the Crown. How can such proceedings as theirs be accounted legitimate by other Sovereigns? Moreover," added he, "these conspirators, who kept their Queen in prison without permitting any of her good subjects to speak to her Majesty, took upon

[1] Letter of Lord Herries to Queen Mary, June 28, 1568.—Teulet's Collections.

them to affirm in their fine Parliament that the demission was her own free will, whereupon the majority of the members signed a bond, which they have to show, promising to support them. At which time several of the great nobles, as the Earls of Argyll, Huntley, and others, prefaced their signatures by declaring that they were conditional, and would be null and void unless her Majesty, when at liberty, should signify her approval of what had been done. Her Majesty has, however, made a full revocation before her Estates, assembled at Hamilton in much greater numbers than were there, and those who made the proviso then declared openly that their own subscriptions were invalid for the reasons aforesaid. Besides this, there were Barons in that pretended Parliament who expressly opposed everything that could be in any way prejudicial to the honour, estate, and person of their Queen, and required instruments of that Parliament to certify that they did so."—"Who were they who did so?" interrupted several of the members of Queen Elizabeth's Council, apparently surprised at a fact which has never been recorded by the time-serving historians of the period. "Myself," replied Herries, "I was one of them."[1]—"We were informed otherwise," they rejoined, "and that you had consented to the regency of the Earl of Moray."[2] "I would be glad to see or hear those among them who will venture to say so," exclaimed Herries.[3] "They have here their men of law, as Wood and others, who are learned in finesses and falsifications, and it is their livelihood, for they have no other means nor professions; but this, which concerns Princes, is so high a matter that it requires personages of a different character."—"That is true," observed Elizabeth, on whom his manly straightforward manner made, at least for the moment, a lively impression, "and I will not suffer Makgill

[1] Letter of Lord Herries to Queen Mary, June 28, 1568.—Teulet's Collections.

[2] Makgill being Moray's Clerk-Registrar, scrupled not to falsify the records of that Parliament, by misrepresenting the conduct of Lord Herries, and other nobles, who had convened in the hope of being able to serve their captive Sovereign.

[3] Ibid. See Teulet's Collections—Pièces et Documens relatifs des Affaires d'Escosse, vol. ii., p. 233-240.

to come into my presence, nor one of those who are against your mistress."[1]

When Lord Fleming solicited the passport to proceed with Queen Mary's letters to France, for which he had been waiting more than a month, Elizabeth flatly refused it, telling him, at the same time, "that if it pleased the Queen her good sister to send any other person, she would grant it, but she would not to him." He then asked leave to return to the Queen his mistress at Carlisle, to which she offered no objection; but when Herries desired to do so also, she told him he must wait till she could send her answer to Queen Mary. "Madam, the Queen my mistress will find fault with me," said Herries bluntly; "for she thinks not I ought to have been here more than three days. I think so myself. I had even promised my friends in my own country to be with them ere now."[2] "You must tarry, nevertheless," returned Elizabeth. The real object of his detention is thus explained by the French Ambassador to the Queen-mother of France: "Within the last few days I have discovered that the Earl of Leicester has been trying to tamper with Lord Herries, for the purpose of drawing him over to the Earl of Moray's side, and has expressed an opinion that he should be able to succeed; but as to Fleming he had great doubts."[3] Neither the one nor the other of those true-hearted Scottish nobles ever swerved in the slightest tittle from their duty to their hapless Sovereign in her dire reverse of fortune. They had each hazarded their lives and broad lands in Scotland for her sake, and all the gold in the English treasury would not have bribed them to desert her cause.[4]

[1] Letter of La Forest to the King of France. Ibid. p. 228.

[2] Letter of Lord Herries to Queen Mary, detailing what passed in his interview with Queen Elizabeth and her Council—Teulet, vol. ii. p. 240.

[3] Ambassade de La Forest. London, June 24, 1568—Teulet, vol. ii. p. 230.

[4] The circumstance of sixteen gentlemen of the Inns of Court inviting Lord Herries to a supper at the King's Head in Fleet Street, during his detention in London, excited the jealous attention of Cecil, and caused a strict inquiry; but it does not appear, with all his ingenuity, that he was able to torture this complimentary and hospitable mark of attention to Mary's faithful minister into an act of treason against Queen Elizabeth. Examination of Thos. Bishop, March 1568-9. Cotton Lib. Calig., c. i. p. 296.

The manly eloquence and plain speaking of Lord Herries produced an impression on Elizabeth's mind sufficient to alarm for a moment the party in her Cabinet who were leagued with the Scotch conspirators for Mary's ruin. That Cecil communicated his uneasiness on this subject to Knollys is sufficiently apparent by the following sentences in reply: "I am sorry to hear that my Lord Herries' messages and persuasions should prevail anything with her Highness."[1] Again: "Your fear of this Queen hearing of her Highness' relenting so much unto her is not without cause, for we find her unruliness to grow thereby."[2]

Mary's brother-in-law, the King of France, had commissioned M. de Montmorin, an especial envoy, to plead her cause to Elizabeth, and to solicit permission to proceed to Carlisle with letters and consoling messages. Elizabeth testified some reluctance to allow Montmorin access to Mary, observing, "that the Queen of Scots had very lately seen Monsieur de Beaumont on the like errand." She made great professions of her friendly intentions towards her royal kinswoman, saying that no one could be so much interested in her cause as she was, on account of their near relationship,"[3] in order to persuade the King of France, whose affection for Mary was well known, that there would be no occasion for him to send a military force to Scotland in her aid. La Forest, however, easily penetrated the hostile feelings which this grimace of friendship was intended to conceal. "She spoke," he says, "of the Queen of Scots in a tone of accusation rather than defence, which he and Montmorin checked with a suitable remonstrance. Then she vehemently protested that she would never allow the Queen of Scots to be touched, either in her life or honour, while in her realm. It is supposed by many," continues La Forest, "that she desires to mediate a reconciliation between the Regent Moray and Queen Mary; but I do not believe that she has in reality any such wish."[4]

Encouraged by the visit of Montmorin, and the friendly

[1] Knollys to Cecil, June 26, 1568—State Paper MS., inedited. [2] Ibid.
[3] Letter from M. de La Forest to the King of France, 12th of June. Teulet's Collections. [4] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 108.

interest manifested in her welfare by her royal brother-in-law of France, Mary, at all times more frank than politic, addressed a long letter to Elizabeth, complaining of the perfidious proceedings of her councillors. She commences by saying:—

"The gentleman who is the bearer of this having been charged by the King of France, my good brother, to inquire my real situation, and how I am treated in your realm, I regret that I have so little cause to praise the conduct of your ministers, for you I neither can nor will blame." [1]

She then adverts to the base juggle that had been practised, in regard to the secret intimation sent to Moray to pay no regard to Middlemore's official remonstrances, requiring him to desist from his hostilities against Queen Mary's friends.

"Middlemore," continues she, "not only submitted to a virtual disregard of your request, but quietly looked on while the house of one of my principal barons was demolished before his very face, without appearing in the slightest degree shocked at the contempt shown thereby to your remonstrances. What offices he used I know not, but my subjects tell me they have been worse treated since his arrival, and the others boast themselves of being authorised by him to proceed in their enterprises for the entire reduction of my realm. They deceive you," proceeds Mary with sarcastic bitterness, "in the hope of proving their false calumnies to you. The difference in our treatment by you might make me apprehensive, if my innocence and my trust in God, who has hitherto preserved me, did not give me confidence. Consider, Madam, they have the authority which pertains to me, the usurped possession of my goods, to corrupt with, and the finances of the whole country are at their command. Your ministers, too, from day to day, are writing and counselling them to pay no heed to your persuasions. Would to God you knew what I know of them! For me, I am detained here as a prisoner, dishonoured by the refusal of your presence, while they with armed force seize all they can, and have lately devised the means of retaining it, under the colour of their calumnies against me, who have neither council nor the power of using the exertions requisite in such case for the defence of my honour. I can only pray my God to judge between me and them." [2]

After reiterating her agonising but fruitless prayer to be permitted to depart to seek that aid from the Kings of France or Spain that was denied her where she had hoped to receive it, or at least to clear her reputation from the cruel slanders of her accusers, she thus conjures Elizabeth not to condemn her on the misrepresentations of their con-

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 108. [2] Ibid.

federates in her Cabinet: "Judge, Madam," she says, "according to the understanding God has given you above others, and not according to the counsel of those who are moved by private influence. I would not blame any one; but a worm will turn when trampled on; how much more difficult for a royal heart to endure such treatment as this cruel detention, through the advice that is given you." Nothing could be more indiscreet than these indignant appeals to Elizabeth against her ministers, who, if previously inimical, when Mary's sole offence consisted in a religious profession which induced them to consider it expedient to avert the dangerous contingency of her attaining sufficient power to disturb the establishment of the Reformed Church in Scotland and England, had now motives of personal animosity to add bitterness to the ardour of political zeal. This spirited but most fatal letter for herself was penned by Mary on the 21st of June,[1] on which day she also wrote to her youthful brothers-in-law, the King of France and Henry Duke of Anjou, and to her uncle, Cardinal de Lorraine, letters that afford touching evidence of the anguish of her soul at that painful crisis. To the King of France she says:—

"The Sieur de Montmorin brought me no small consolation in the extremity of my misery, by his visit and inquiry after my welfare, which depends on God and your aid, as he can more fully explain to you, for I will not trouble you with lengthy complaints, but will merely tell you that I have been treated most shamefully, not only as Princess but as gentlewoman, having been calumniated most falsely, and in danger of my life, if God, having pity on my innocence and knowledge of their falsehood, had not preserved me from their hands. Wherefore I implore you to consider my necessity, and grant me the aid of which the bearer will show you my need, and I hope you will make the falseness of their inventions apparent, as tending to my ruin and that of all Princes, especially those of the ancient faith."[2]

Her letter to Anjou is merely a brief but earnest request that he would be pleased to second her entreaties to be placed in a position to confute the calumnies of her enemies. To Cardinal de Lorraine, who had supplied to her

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 100.
[2] Dated Carlisle, 21st June—Labanoff, ii. 113.

in childhood the place of the father she never knew, and to whom, as her spiritual director, she had been accustomed to unveil her faults without reserve, and unbosom the cares and sorrows of her early years, she wrote, as might be expected, more fully and confidentially :—

"My Uncle,—If you have not pity on me, and, as I may truly say, on my son and my country with me, I shall be in the like situation here, though in another land, as I was at Lochleven. I beg you to take into consideration that the party against me is small, and most of the nobles are on my side. Their people are beginning to leave them, and would do so altogether if I had ever so little help,—feeling that their quarrel is a bad one. In Scotland, and here even, where I have little opportunity to speak in answer to their false reports, they are regarded as traitors and liars; and for this reason they are driven to the necessity of preventing me from passing farther, by detaining me here. Those whom this Queen sent to require my enemies to desist from their persecutions, have strengthened and fortified them against me, and have in a manner given out that the others have crushed me, although I have offered to prove them false accusers, and myself innocent, as the bearer of this will tell you."[1]

Her anxiety for the preservation of her faithful friends does honour to her feelings of gratitude, and will be read with interest; she exhorts him to exert himself in their behalf,—

"Among others, the poor Lord Seton, who is in danger of losing his head for having been one of my deliverers from prison. Ascertain about this from Beton; for I dare not send any one to make inquiries, for they declare they will put him to death if they can, and George Douglas, who assisted in my escape also. For which reason, I will send him as soon as I can procure a safe passage for him. I have written about it to the French ambassador, for they have prevented Lord Fleming from going to the King. If George goes, I will explain to you more fully their behaviour and mine since the beginning of these troubles; for he has heard their fine accounts of me, and I can tell him the rest. I recommend you to give him an honourable reception, for otherwise few would lose their friends and hazard their lives to serve me. He is faithful, of that I can assure you, and will do whatever you command. I entreat you to send often to visit the Duke [of Châtelherault], for his kinsmen have served me extremely well; and, if they are not succoured, eight-and-twenty gentlemen of his surname are condemned to be hanged, and their houses to be demolished. For every man who will not obey them [Moray and his Council] is made out to be participant in the crime which they have committed themselves."

[1] Queen Mary to Cardinal de Lorraine, Carlisle, June 21, 1568—from the original French. Prince Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 115.

Mary alludes here to the assassination of her husband, under the shallow pretext of avenging which his deadliest foes—the very men who had previously been driven out of Scotland for plotting his death—had deprived her of her throne and usurped the government of her realm.

"Openly, from day to day," continues she, "they are inventing falsehoods of me; and secretly they offer to say no more evil of me, if I will leave them in possession of the government. But I will either die, or make them avow that they have lied in the many villanous aspersions they have cast upon me."

After this honest burst of feeling, she pathetically adds—

"I implore you to have pity on your poor niece, and procure such succour for me as the bearer of this will explain to you, and send me some money in the mean time, for I have not wherewithal to buy either bread, a chemise, or a gown. The Queen here has sent me a small supply of linen and plate, and I have borrowed some, but I shall not be able to do so any more. You are involved in this humiliation. Sandy Clerk, who has been to France on the part of the false bastard, has boasted that you will neither furnish me with money nor be mixed up in my affairs. God has tried me sorely; but at least assure yourself that I shall die a Catholic. May God remove me from these miseries shortly, for I have suffered injuries, calumnies, prisons, hunger, cold, heat; flying, without knowing whither to go, fourscore and twelve miles across the country, without stopping or alighting, and then lay on the hard ground, drank sour milk, my only food oat-meal, without bread, passing three nights like the owls, on my way to this country, where, for my recompense, I am little better than a prisoner. In the mean time, they beat down the houses of my servants, and I cannot aid them, and hang the masters of them while I am unable to preserve them—all who remain faithful to me being detested by these cruel traitors. They have three thousand men at their command; but if I had succour, half of these would leave them for certain. I pray God to help me, which will be when it shall please Him."

In her postscript she says:—

"I beg you to present my humble commendations to Madame my aunt. I will write in eight days by George Douglas, who will tell her of my misery. I must not forget that I promised my people, when I left Scotland, to bring them succours by the end of August. For the love of God, that I be not the cause of their ruin by deceiving them, send the Duke of Châtelherault, and some Frenchmen of authority with him. Among others, Captain Sarlabous might be desirable. It is for my interest that my subjects be not disappointed and ruined; for I have a son whom it would be piteous to leave among those traitors."[1]

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[1] Queen Mary to Cardinal de Lorraine, Carlisle, June 21, 1568—from the original French. Prince Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 115.

Montmorin took his leave of the captive Queen the same day these letters were written. Immediately after his departure Middlemore arrived at Carlisle, on his return from Scotland, and visited her.[1] Incapable of controlling her feelings when she considered herself wronged, Mary indignantly upbraided him with the double-dealing he had practised in regard to his late mission. Middlemore affected surprise at her displeasure, and assured her "she ought to consider herself under great obligations to the Queen his mistress for having sent him to expostulate with the Earl of Moray." Mary told him "that Moray had boasted before every one at table 'that he had had far different counsel from him than to resign the regency.'"[2] Other things, also, she repeated from John Wood's intercepted letters, "which she said she had sent to Lord Herries to show Queen Elizabeth, and would confirm all her accusations regarding the perfidious manner in which she had been treated by her Ministers." Middlemore so stoutly protested that Wood had no foundation for what he had written to Moray, that she, knowing full well how common such practices were, allowed herself to be persuaded. "I can easily believe," writes she to Elizabeth, "Middlemore's declaration that Wood invented it himself; for he who lies of me would not scruple to do the same of your Ministers. I told him that they were included in the dishonour done to you, by asserting such things, contrary to your intention. I doubt not, however, that his falsehood will be excused to you, lest you should make an example of him, by punishing him for his fraudulent use of such people's names." She concludes with apologising for the badness of her writing; "for the sight of those falsely-invented letters," continues she, "made me so ill all night that I have no inclination for writing."[3]

The letters to which Mary alludes were not, as might be supposed, copies of those she was alleged by the conspirators to have written to Bothwell, but a fresh packet of John Wood's intercepted correspondence with

[1] Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, June 22, 1568. Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 119. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., June 22.

Moray, as appears from the following passage in a letter from Knollys to Cecil. "This Queen hath despatched Mr George Douglas in message to her Highness, and so he passeth, I suppose, into France. I think this Queen hath sent by him to her Highness copies of new letters of Mr John Wood's again, newly taken."[1] Mary thus alludes to them in a recently-discovered letter to the Laird of Langtown: "We have in the mean time gotten by chance some writings of our enemies, which discover many things, especially how sundry of the Court of England and Council promise the Earl of Moray all kindness against us, which writings, how soon the Queen sees (for we have sent them to the Lord Herries to that effect), we are assured she will be offended, yea, and will remove them from further meddling with our affairs."[2]

In consequence of Mary's indignant complaints Queen Elizabeth sent for John Wood, and confronted him with Lord Herries, who produced the intercepted letters, and having verified them beyond the possibility of denial, she insisted on Wood's declaring on what authority he had written to the Earl of Moray that her Ministers had given Middlemore secret instructions to the effect he had described. Wood confessed "he had no warrant from any of her people for the statement he had made in his letters," and coolly acknowledged "that he had invented it for the purpose of strengthening his master's cause." Had the offence been impartially tried in Scotland, as the law for preventing false witness, quaintly intituled "the Statute against Leasing-making" then stood, Master John Wood might have suffered the painful and degrading punishment which he, as a Lord of Session, had been wont to inflict on culprits of low degree when convicted of such offences. But he, as *leasing-maker* for the benefit of his worthy master the good Regent, reaped

[1] State Paper Office MS. inedited, June 26, 1568.

[2] Inedited letter from Queen Mary to Sir J. Buchan, Laird of Langtown —Carlisle, the 25th of June 1568. Communicated by the late Alexander Macdonald, Esq., of the Register House, Edinburgh.

[3] Letter from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary, Greenwich, June 30, 1568—State Paper Office MS.

rewards instead of punishments for his "*lees.*" Queen Elizabeth herself, deeply as her royal faith had been touched by the statements contained in Wood's letters to Moray, did not pass the slightest censure on his conduct, and, instead of dismissing him from her realm, continued to receive him as before. Cecil, so far from resenting the liberty taken with his name, treated Wood with greater confidence than ever, especially in regard to the intrigues for the approaching Conference at York, Wood being the person employed in getting up the case against Mary.

Wood writes from Greenwich to the Earl of Moray, discussing the persons most desirable to act as commissioners: "Not my Lord Morton, though most apt," observes he, "because he is thought unacceptable to the English Queen, but rather Glencairn, who is next best, and with him Doune,"[1] — the secularised Abbot of St Colme, whom poor Mary fancied her friend, — "Mr James Makgill, and Mr Henry Balnaves." These had been secret-service-men of England ever since Mary was born, and were, of course, ready to unite in any villany against her. Elizabeth's share in the dark purpose then in agitation is testified by Wood's significant hint to his good master "to use despatch, because it was dangerous to suspend matters, as this Queen (Elizabeth) was mortal, and princes, like private persons, might change their purposes." He writes to Lethington also, telling him "he had been of opinion that Queen Mary would like of his coming to assist at the trial, but was then surely informed that she had not only written and accused him and Morton of the murder, but affirmed that she had their handwritings to testify the same;" adding, "I am willed to signify this to you, that he may consider thereof." Lethington and Morton had doubtless a shrewd guess whence the warning of Mary's denunciation proceeded. His next paragraph is corroborative of the confederacy between the English Cabinet and the Scotch traitors against poor Mary: "I am forbidden to speak to the Queen's Majesty here upon my first proposition, that is, touching the returning her (Queen

[1] Hamilton Papers, No. 23.

Mary) to my Lord's hands, not, as I suppose, because it is so misliked as it may not be heard of, but they will rather have the gripe themselves, and rather have it in their power to loose the devil upon you than you should loose him upon them at your pleasure; and truly there is natural equity therein, seeing how loosely he was holden in times past ye are found unworthy jailers for the time coming." [1] This was a reproachful allusion to Mary's escape from Loch-leven. So little was Mary aware of the spirit in which that event was regarded by the English Court, that she actually recommended her brave deliverer George Douglas to Elizabeth in these words:[2] "I beg you to grant your passport to the gentleman who is the bearer of this, and that you will vouchsafe him so honourable a reception as may show that the service he performed in delivering me was agreeable to you. He goes to pass some time in France to learn the language, and to be rewarded in some measure by the King my good brother and my uncles, by their desire, from the wish they have to know him who has achieved a deed that was so acceptable to them; and I have willingly given him leave, seeing that I do not require so many of my good servants here."[3] Douglas was also the bearer of her letters and credence to Mary's royal kindred in France, and she commends him and the care of his fortunes to the King and Queen-mother in a manner that does credit to the goodness of her heart, but certainly indicates no warmer feeling than the lively gratitude his services had caused. To the King she says: "I have despatched Douglas, the bearer of this, to report to you at length all that has befallen me; he will tell you about my imprisonment, my escape, and retreat into this country, and all I can learn that has lately happened in my own. I beg you to give credit to him as to myself, for he has proved himself my faithful servant, having delivered me from the hands of my mortal foes at the peril of his

[1] Hamilton Papers, No. 23.
[2] Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, June 26, 1568. Labanoff, vol. ii.
[3] From the original French holograph in the Imperial Library at St Petersburg, graciously communicated by the late Emperor Nicholas.

life, and the sacrifice of his nearest ties of kindred. He desires, that he may continue as he has begun to render me service, to remain for a time in your Court to await the assistance that may be accorded to me. I entreat you to give him such entertainment as may make it manifest that he has rendered you a service by saving my life. I will answer for his integrity." He requires now to seek his living in France, for he must lose all he had in Scotland unless I am shortly mistress there again."

Mary uses nearly the same words in recommendation of George Douglas in her letter to her mother-in-law, Catherine de Medicis, whom she informs, "that instead of having the liberty, as she had hoped, of explaining personally the extent of her calamities, and the wrongs she had endured from the most ungrateful of subjects, she was to be transferred from one prison to another, and had no possibility of rewarding those who had served her, unless through her Majesty." She explains her own pecuniary distress in this pathetic postscript: "I beseech you to consider my necessity. The King owes me money, and I have not one sous! I am not ashamed to address my plaints to you by whom I was brought up; for I have not wherewithal to buy a chemise; and the bearer will describe the condition in which I came hither."[1]

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 129.

MARY STUART.

CHAPTER XLIII.

SUMMARY.

Queen Mary's cause debated in the English Council—Hostile resolution adopted—Moray complains of her remaining at Carlisle—Elizabeth determines to remove her to Bolton Castle—Mary remonstrates with Elizabeth—Will not stir without her order in writing—Mary guarded vigilantly—Her piteous letters to Elizabeth—Refuse articles of her wardrobe sent by Moray—Her complaints and destitution—She appoints the Duke of Châtelherault Governor in her absence—Expenses of Mary's residence at Carlisle—Preparations for her removal—Her rash speeches—Armed force brought by Sir George Bowes—Mary is removed from Carlisle under a strong guard—Sleeps at Lowther Castle—Affectionately treated there—Her parting benediction on the Lowther family—Arrives at Bolton Castle—Its situation, strength, and domestic arrangements—Furniture borrowed for Mary's use—Inedited letter of Mary to Lord Doune—Confiding frankness of her conversation—She writes reproachfully to Moray—His self-righteous reply—Her "Memorial to all Christian Princes"—Lord Herries comes to her at Bolton—Brings delusive promises from Queen Elizabeth—Mary becomes her dupe—Consents to reduce the number of her servants at Bolton—Resort to her of friends from Scotland—Project for her enfranchisement by English gentlemen discovered—Her attempted escape from Bolton Castle—Overtaken at the Queen's Gap—Important demonstrations of Scotch nobles in her favour—They petition Queen Elizabeth to restore their Queen—Mary's ill-timed concessions to Elizabeth—Orders her partisans to disband their troops—Fatal effects on her cause.

THE course to be adopted in respect to the Queen of Scotland was debated in the English Privy Council on the 20th of June. Her letters to Queen Elizabeth were read; and Middlemore having made his report of what passed in conference between him and her at Carlisle, her reiterated requests of being allowed to exonerate herself in a personal explanation of her conduct to Elizabeth, or else being per-

mitted to proceed to France or return to Scotland, were negatived. The first, on account of the suspicions of her guilt, which it suited their policy to entertain; the second, lest a renewal of her claims to the title of Queen of England should be attempted; and the third, namely, her return to Scotland, because it would be taken ill by the parties then in possession of the government, and cause an interruption to the friendship and good understanding which had always subsisted between them and England. Neither could she remain in England, unless as a strictly guarded prisoner in some isolated fortress, for fear of her practising with the Papists and other disaffected persons to contest the Crown, to which it was presumed her ambition aspired. Nothing can be less magnanimous than the tone adopted towards Mary, nor more cruel than the manner in which every old grudge, even her marriage with Darnley, is raked up and brought forward to serve as pretexts for treating her as an enemy.[1]

Two papers, in Cecil's handwriting, are in existence, bearing the same date as this sederunt of Privy Council; one containing an abstract of the arguments that were adduced in Mary's behalf, the other of those against her. The first is headed *Pro Regina Scotorum*, and states her case very fairly.

"She is to be helped, because she came willingly into the realm upon trust of the Queen's Majesty. She trusted upon the Queen's Majesty's help, because she had in her trouble received many messages to that effect. She is not lawfully condemned, because she was first taken by her subjects, by force kept in prison, put in fear of her life, charged with the murder of her husband, and not admitted to answer thereto, neither in her own person nor by advocate, before them which in Parliament did condemn her."[2]

Not one of these statements is denied, much less disproved, in the paper *Contra Reginam Scotorum*, which sets forth the arguments brought forward by Moray and his faction against her, and affords a notable example of how much easier it is to invent fictions than to controvert

[1] Memorial of the Consultation of the Privy Council of England touching the Queen of Scots—Anderson, vol. iv. p. 102.

[2] Both papers are printed in Anderson, vol. iv. p. 100.

facts. It opens with the unverified assertion, "She procured the murdering of her husband, whom she had constituted King, and so he was a public person and her superior;" thus assuming as a certainty that Mary had been guilty of a crime of which no trial had been made, no evidence deposed, no testimony produced. The alleged superiority to Queen Mary of Darnley, her subject's son, who had acquired his regal title from her favour only, comes strangely from the pen of the English minister, by whom the honours of royalty had always been denied to him during his life. This singular change of tone proceeded neither from inconsistency nor change of feeling, but from the obvious design of branding Mary with the crime of regicide. The paradox of her having been actuated by a guilty passion for Bothwell is not only asserted, but dwelt on with an eagerness which has betrayed the usually cautious diplomatist into the following misrepresentation of the circumstances connected with Bothwell's divorce: "She also procured him to be divorced from his lawful wife upon a charging of himself that he had lived in frequent advoutery, especially with one Lady Reres."[1] Now Cecil was well aware that this was false. He had carefully watched the process of Bothwell's divorce—received constant information from his spies and confederates on the subject, as his correspondence at the period proves. His own hand had noted down the fact "that Bothwell obtained release from his marriage with Lady Jane Gordon in the Consistorial Court, on the plea of relationship within the forbidden degrees." The charge of adultery was not brought forward by Bothwell, but against him by his injured wife, who sought and obtained her divorce from him on that ground in the kirk-session, where she proved, by sufficient testimony, his guilt with her own waiting-woman, Bessie Crawford, not Lady Reres, whose name was never mentioned in the process. This gross perversion of facts may serve as a specimen of the veraciousness of Mary's accusers, and the measure of justice that was preparing for her by an English commission, under the management of Cecil.

[1] "Contra Reginam Scotorum"—State Paper Office MS.

It was apparently to oblige Moray, who had complained in his letters to Forster and Drury of Mary being permitted to remain so long at Carlisle, that Elizabeth and her Council came to the resolution of removing her to Bolton Castle. Mary's reluctance, and the deceitful cajolery resorted to for the purpose of persuading her to proceed thither quietly, is thus described by Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil: "We have already persuaded her for her own commodity, to remove, but that way we could prevail nothing. Therefore now we mean to declare to her that her Highness' pleasure is to have her come near unto her from this rude and inconvenient place, and we will press her thereunto by all convenient means we can, and all will be little enough. I think she will desire to see letters of the Queen's own hand signed before she will remove."[1] "Without the Queen your mistress's express warrant for that purpose, I will not stir," was Mary's resolute declaration, as she herself informs Elizabeth.[2] "Assuring myself," continues she, "that you would either send for me to come to you or else allow me to depart elsewhere as freely as I came hither, and that you would not encourage those who would only make you a judge of their actions as a cloak for injuring me, if your conscience, honour, and penetration were not better than to permit you to be abused by their wicked inventions. Now then, since you may see that subjects favour subjects, I implore you, Queen sister and cousin, to have a fellow-feeling for your equal."[3]

After supper on the 28th of June, Scroope and Knollys showed Mary the order for her removal from Carlisle to Bolton Castle, and told her "that the Queen their mistress had sent her own litter and horses for her use on the journey."[4] Mary received the announcement much as Elizabeth herself had done on a like occasion a few

[1] Letter from Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, Carlisle, June 26, 1568—State Paper MS., inedited.

[2] Letter from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, June 26, 1568—Labanoff, vol. ii.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Sir F. Knollys and Lord Scroope to Sir W. Cecil, June 28, 1568—Cotton. MSS., Calig. B. ix. 289.

years previously, when required by the warrant of the late Queen her sister to leave Ashridge for London under the escort of a guard commissioned to remove her, whether it were her pleasure to go or not. Scroope and Knollys used every flattering argument they could devise to soothe the offended dignity of their royal charge, persuade her to comply with a mandate which she was powerless to resist, "and to move with contentation and good-will."[1]

The journey was, however, postponed. The royal litter and horses, which Scroope and Knollys had announced to Mary, had not in reality arrived, and, through some unexplained cause of delay, were vainly expected in Carlisle for upwards of ten days. Meantime Mary received the following insolent letter from Elizabeth, dated June 30 :—

"My Lord Herries has told me two things which seemed to me very strange. One, that you would not answer before anybody but myself; the other, that without force you would not stir from the place where you are, unless you had license to come to me! Your innocence being such as I hope it is, you have no need to refuse to answer to some noble personage, whom I shall send to you, not to answer judicially, but only to assure me upon it by your answers; not making them to your subjects, which would not be considered proper, but sending to lay before me your defence, that I might publish it to the world, after being satisfied myself, which is my principal desire. Then, as to the place I have ordained for your honour and safe keeping," she continues, "I beg you not to give me cause to think all the promises you have made were but as wind, when you sent word to me that you would do whatsoever might seem best to me."[2]

She coolly added, that she "intended to keep Lord Herries till Mary should have given her a proper answer on both these points." This was only an excuse for the detention of that faithful servant from his royal mistress till her removal from Carlisle should be effected, Knollys having intimated to Cecil that it would be desirable to do it in his absence. The high spirit of Lord Herries, and his courageous loyalty, doubtless rendered them apprehensive that he would not only protest against her removal, but strike a bold stroke for the deliverance of his

[1] Sir F. Knollys and Lord Scroope to Sir W. Cecil, June 28, 1568—Cotton. MSS., Calig. B. ix. 289.
[2] Labanoff, vol. vii. p. 142—Appendix.

captive Sovereign, by urging the young Scotch nobles and their servants then in Carlisle to attempt her rescue, and contest the possession of her person with her English guards at swords' points. But in his absence there was no able and energetic person to organise effectual resistance.

The vigilant manner in which the royal fugitive was watched and warded at Carlisle Castle to prevent her escape, is very particularly described by Sir Francis Knollys. The band of men-at-arms under Mr Read's command was divided into five parts, so that the watch and ward came about every fifth night and every fifth day, each portion being under a separate officer, over whom Mr Read presided, under the orders of Lord Scroope, who also was a late watcher. "This Queen's chamber at Carlisle," continues Knollys, "had a window looking out towards Scotland, the bars whereof being filed asunder, out of the same she might have been let down, and then she had plain ground before her to pass into Scotland. But near unto the same window we found an old postern-door, that was dammed up with a rampier of earth, of the inner side of twenty feet broad and thirty feet deep, between two walls, for the commodity of which postern for our sally to that window, with ready watch and ward, we did cut into that rampier in form of stairs, with a turning-about down to the said postern, and so opened the same, without the which device we could not have watched and warded this Queen there so safely as we did. Also there was another window of her chamber for passing into an orchard within the town-wall, and so to have slipped over the town-wall, that was very dangerous."[1] This window was blocked up.

The courage and activity with which Mary had effected her escape out of Borthwick Castle, by descending from a window eight-and-twenty or thirty feet from the ground, must have made a very great impression on the minds of her English jailers, who were from first to last haunted with the apprehension that she would succeed in regaining her freedom by a like daring enterprise. Hence all these

[1] Sir F. Knollys to Sir W. Cecil, Bolton, July 16—Wright's Elizabeth and her Times.

jealous precautions, and vigilance of statesmen and men-at-arms, to prevent the escape of one helpless lady, whose beauty and distress appealed in vain to the chivalry of the nation to whose honour she had confided herself. She wrote to Queen Elizabeth again on the 5th of July, and after repeating her protest against her removal farther into England, she says:—

"In the month of August a Parliament is to be held against me and my servants, while I am kept here, and without being allowed to see you, am to be removed farther from my own country; and this dishonour is to be done to me at the instance of my rebels, who are to send deputies to be heard against me, as if I were a simple subject, without your hearing what I have to say in my own person. Now, Madam, I have engaged to come and make my complaint to you of my rebels, they coming not as parties in a process, but as subjects to answer to it, and you are requested to hear my justification from what they have falsely imputed to me. If I am not to come for that end, then should you be discharged from being mixed up in my affairs, and let me go for such as I am; but to do as you propose, if I were guilty I might think of it, but not being so, I cannot consent to the degradation of those who are my subjects coming to accuse me before your deputies."[1]

After reiterating her entreaty to be allowed to go to France, "where," observes she, "I have a dower to maintain me, or to Scotland, with the assurance that, if any foreigners come there, they shall return without prejudice to you," she with more plainness than prudence adds: "But if this does not please you, I protest that I shall consider it no breach of faith if I receive from foreigners in my own realm the aid you deny. Do with my body as you please, the honour or the blame will be yours; for I would rather die here than not have my faithful subjects succoured. If, therefore, you would not have foreigners introduced, leave not them (my adherents) to be ruined, in the hope of receiving some especial help at last."[2] She complains of Scroope and Knollys having prevented her friends in Scotland having access to or communication with her, contrary to the promises made to her by Elizabeth on her first arrival. "I entreat you," continues the forlorn fugitive, "to send my Lord Herries back to me, for I cannot be without him, having no other member of my Council here; and permit me, if you please,

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 131-132—from the original French. [2] Ibid.

to depart hence without delay—anywhere, so that it be out of this country. I am sure you will not deny this simple request, for the sake of your honour, since it doth not please you to use your natural goodness otherwise, that since I came of mine own free will I may depart with yours."[1]

As reasonably might the unwary fly, when entangled in the spider's web, expect its piteous cries for liberty would move the subtle weaver of the net to unravel his meshes and resign his prey. The ungenerous policy adopted by Elizabeth on this occasion was excused to herself by the laws of expediency.

Very pathetic, notwithstanding its quaintness, is the tone in which poor Mary winds up her expostulations to her whom she had, in evil hour, rendered the arbitress of her wayward destiny.

"My good sister, be of another mind. Gain the heart, and there is not anything but shall be at your direction. I should think you would be satisfied in all were I to see you. Alas! be not like the serpent, which stoppeth its ears, for I am no enchanter, but your sister and natural cousin. If Cæsar had not disdained to read the complaint of a petitioner, he had not fallen. Why should the ears of princes be stopped, since they are painted so long, signifying that they should hear every one, and reflect well before they reply? I am not of the nature of the basilisk, still less of the cameleon, to convert you to my likeness, even if I were as dangerous and wicked as they say."[2]

The next day an express arrived at Carlisle from London at four o'clock in the morning, with a letter from Cecil to Sir Francis Knollys, and one from his Sovereign to Queen Mary, which was not delivered to her till near eleven. Knollys expected it was a positive order for her to commence her journey, but she said "it was not more pressing than the others had been;" "whereupon," writes he, "I thought we should have fallen into a new contention; yet in a while she seemed not greatly to repugne or deny to remove hence on Monday or Tuesday next, before which time she looks to have answer of her last letter written to her Highness; but how this mood will hold we know not. My Lord Scroope, and divers of our company here, do think that our earnest contention, in my last letters partly speci-

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 131-132—from the original French. [2] Ibid.

fied, and our determination to refrain all intelligences from her unless she would remove, and our free offers in that behalf if she would remove, hath made her more pliant than she otherwise would have been; so that we trust we shall remove her hence upon Tuesday next towards Bolton Castle, according to her Highness' pleasure. We marvel that we hear not of Mr Skipworth coming with the horses, nor yet of the litter.[1] My Lord of Moray," continues Knollys, "hath sent by our messenger to this Queen three coffers of apparel; but because her Grace saith that never a gown is sent her hereby but one of taffety, and that the rest is but cloaks and coverings for saddles, and sleeves, and partlets, and coifs, and suchlike trinkets, therefore we have sent to my Lord of Moray again for her desired apparel remaining in Lochleven."

Poor Mary, notwithstanding the utter destitution which had impelled her to write to her uncle and her royal mother of France, "that she had not wherewithal to buy a chemise," is reflected on by Knollys for her lack of liberality to the bearers of the refuse articles of her wardrobe Moray had sent: "But she doth offer our messengers nothing at all for their pains and charges, wherefore her Highness is like to bear the charge thereof."[2]

The next day Sir George Bowes, with a hundred armed horsemen, approached Carlisle for the purpose of assisting her keepers to remove their royal captive; but Mary, when informed of it, and required to make herself ready, refused to remove, and that so resolutely, that Scroope and Knollys, dreading the consequences of appearing to put open constraint upon her person, prudently gave up the point, and sent to stop Sir George and his men from entering the town, "because the Queen of Scots did refuse at that time to remove." Brave woman she, thus singly to resist the authority of those who had so large a company

[1] Sir F. Knollys to Sir W. Cecil, Carlisle, July 7, 1568—Wright.

[2] Knollys to Cecil, Carlisle, July 7, 1568.

[3] Letter from Knollys to Cecil, October 24, 1568, recommending some favour to be shown to Sir George Bowes for his services in removing the Scottish Queen. Memorials of the Northern Rebellion, by Sir Cuthbert Sharpe—Appendix.

of armed men to enforce it; but well she was aware that the manly English knights and gentlemen whose will she opposed were of a different temper from the ruffian Bothwell, or the perfidious and brutal traitors, Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, and their confederates. Neither noble Scroope, courtly Knollys, nor valiant Bowes, though devoted servants to the rival Queen, whose crooked policy had been the secret spring of all her troubles, would for their lives have stained their honour by dealing ungently with her; and even if they could have found it in their hearts to proceed to a show of violence, her first shriek would have been answered by the cry of her brave followers in the town—"Down with the false Southrons!—Blue bonnets, to the rescue!—Dirks and claymores for bonny Queen Mary!" and an immediate rising of the Roman Catholics in that district, attended perhaps with more than peril to the throne of the reigning Sovereign. Wisely, therefore, did Scroope and Knollys act by not bringing matters to such a pass. The journey was delayed once more; Mary employed the interval in writing to the Earls of Huntley, Argyll, and Eglinton, and others of her faithful adherents, to encourage them in their opposition to Moray's usurpation, by holding out hopes of her speedy return to Scotland, and quoting the delusive promises Queen Elizabeth had made of reinstating her in her regal authority. Aware that it was necessary to have a recognised leader for her party, she sent her commission to her banished kinsman the Duke of Châtelherault, constituting him Lieutenant of the realm in her absence. In this instrument—which was also intended to serve as a manifesto, not only to her own subjects, but to Christendom—she thus describes her case:—

"Being pursued by some of our rebel subjects, we have been constrained, after a battle, to retire into this country of England, where we are detained by the contrivance of the said rebels, who, not contented with having secretly slain our husband, proceeded to make us a prisoner under the false pretext of putting upon us the accusation of the murder themselves had committed on our said husband, as is sufficiently proved,

desiring to take away our honour in like manner as they have stolen our rings and jewels, pursued our life, and holding our son as their prisoner till he shall be of age, after which they will treat him as they have done his father."[1]

After this preface she invests the Duke her cousin both with the military command and the government of her realm, and exhorts her subjects to obey him and assist him to the utmost of their power—"the same," she says, "as if we were present in person to avenge the murder committed by our said rebels, and the wrongs they are now doing to us and our son."[2]

Mary's reliance was but on a broken reed, if she anticipated any good results from the Duke of Châtelherault. Selfishness and timidity were his leading characteristics. His ambition, indeed, had betrayed him into those treasonable practices which had compelled Mary to banish him; but it was not a principle sufficiently active to incite him to redeem his character by availing himself of an opportunity so favourable for getting the authority of the realm into his hands once more by acting as her deputy. It would have required an energetic struggle to wrest the regental sceptre from the hand of the base-born usurper of the rights of their liege lady. He calculated that the life of Mary's infant son, deprived of the tender vigilance of maternal care, hung on a precarious tenure, and that even if he died a natural death, the usurping Regent would be branded by public opinion as his murderer, and hurried to a scaffold; and as no reaction of loyal feeling could unlock the English prison of the royal mother during the life of her jealous kinswoman, whom Cecil, for obvious reasons, would never permit her to survive, he, as the next in the line of the regal succession, imagined he saw a clear path to the throne of Scotland if he patiently bided his time. Thus, though nominally the leader of Mary's party, he played, as he always had done, a vacillating, unmanly part. Queen Mary's commission,[3] investing him with the government of the realm, which had better have been addressed to his gallant

[1] Sloane Collection—British Museum. [2] Ibid. [3] Labanoff, vol. ii.

son Lord Claud Hamilton, was executed July 12th, 1568, on the eve of her reluctant departure from Carlisle.

Queen Elizabeth told the French ambassador, La Forest Bochetel, in reply to the inquiries he had been directed by his Sovereign to make regarding Mary, "that she thought the Queen of Scotland would commence her journey the next day," but whither, she would not say. She pretended "that the unpleasantness and inconveniences of Queen Mary's abode at Carlisle, and its great distance from London, were the reasons for this change, which would be no hindrance," she said, "to Queen Mary's affairs." "Her Majesty," reports La Forest, "repeated several times to me, and even swore it in the most affectionate terms, 'that she had no other intention than to replace the Queen of Scotland in her realm, with the full obedience of her subjects, and that at the approaching conferences, to which the Earl of Moray or his deputies were shortly coming, nothing to her prejudice would be done, nor her honour in the slightest degree impugned.'"[1] Deluded by these lip-deep professions, La Forest sent word to Mary "that he was satisfied the Queen of England was sincere, and meant to use her with all due courtesy during the period of her detention, advising her to rest patiently till the excitement which at that time agitated all Christendom should have subsided;"[2] while to the King his master he confidentially observes: "In truth, sire, I believe her person is in greater security where she now is, and treated with less indignity, than if she were in her own Castle of Edinburgh with those who say they wish to fight for her, so little trust is to be placed in those of her nation."[3]

Surely La Forest had forgotten the fidelity of that gallant little company at Carlisle, who clave to the fallen fortunes of their fugitive Queen in her distress, when he formed so low an estimate of the honour of Scotland as to say, "little dependence was to be placed on men of that nation." The attraction of Carlisle for Mary, and the cause of her reluctance to be removed thence, was,

[1] Letter of La Forest to the King of France, London, July 14, 1568. Teulet's Collections, vol. ii. p. 254. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

that from the barred casement in her chamber there, she could still look back to the blue hills of her own beloved Scotland. True, she had been betrayed, calumniated, and despitefully used there, but she was too just to blame the great body of her subjects for the villany of the few. It was the old story, the son of the concubine persecuting the true heir, in order to possess himself of the heritage. By putting himself at the head of a pernicious faction, composed of selfish nobles, secularised Romish priests, crafty lawyers, and furious zealots, whom he rendered subservient to his ambition, Moray had succeeded in attaining his object, and realising his mother's dream that the dragon born of her should vanquish the royal lion of Scotland. By his subtlety had Mary's throne been undermined, and his victorious prowess in the field had driven her into the toils of her English rival, who had always been confederate with him in his treasons. But the people of Scotland loved her well; they love her still. Loyal affection for her has been transmitted as a heritage from father to son, and after the lapse of nearly three centuries, the name of "Bonnie Queen Mary" continues to be an household word, not only in the castles, but in the cottage-homes of Scotland. Had the cruel detention of her person in an English prison not rendered all exertions in her behalf hopeless, there can be no doubt that she would speedily have been replaced on her throne. Deeply had the absence of her maternal government been felt and mourned. Even his time-serving panegyrists, Buchanan and Sir James Melville, acknowledge that the unpopularity of the Regent Moray was extreme. He stood on broken ground. A conspiracy for his assassination was discovered, at the head of which were his old associates in treason, the Laird of Tullibardine and his brother James Murray,[1] whose political caricatures against his unfortunate liege lady had not been sufficiently rewarded as to satisfy him. Queen Mary's party was rapidly gaining ground in Scotland, and the resort of her friends to

[1] Tytler's Hist. Scotland, vol. vii. p. 192. Letters from Drury to Cecil, July 20–31, 1568—State Paper Office MSS., Border Correspondence.

visit her at Carlisle was so considerable as to alarm her keepers there into hurrying her oft-delayed departure without tarrying for further ceremonies.[1]

The expenses of Mary's residence at Carlisle, with her personal attendants, including Lord Scroope and Sir Francis Knollys, up to the 12th of June, amounted only to £162, 2s. 10d. The price of provisions at that time may be calculated from the fact, that forty sheep were purchased for £10, 14s. 4d., the expense of providing and bringing them to Carlisle being 3s. £7, 9s. 5d. were charged in the account for fish, lambs, veals, kids, capons, &c. &c., the number not specified. Eight bushels of wheat cost £2, 2s. 4d., about half the present current price. £10 were charged "for beer, £13 for Gascon wine, 20s. for peats and turfs." The outlay increased subsequently to about £52 a-week, which included the English establishment of Mary's keepers, as well as herself and her personal suite. The greater number of her followers lodged in the town, and lived at their own charges.[2]

It is not wonderful that, under the aggravating circumstances of her treatment, Mary's vexed spirit was occasionally chafed to the utterance of passionate words; the only marvel is that so little could be reported to her disadvantage by those whose office it was to chronicle every hasty and imprudent expression that escaped her. "Yesterday," wrote Knollys, "this Queen, among other words, fell into this speech, 'that although she were holden as a prisoner, yet she had friends that would prosecute her cause; and,' saith she, 'I can sell my right, and there be those that will buy it; and peradventure it hath been in hand already.'"[3] So chimerical were the notions of Sovereigns, from the days of William the Conqueror down to the Tudor era, of the power of transferring kingdoms, as if they were personal property, and appointing successors to their realms like heirs to estates.

[1] Letters from Drury to Cecil, August 8, 1568—State Paper Office MSS., Border Correspondence.

[2] State Paper MSS. Account of Expenses of the Queen of Scots at Carlisle, up to June 12, 1568.

[3] Knollys to Cecil, July 7.

Mary continued resolute in her declarations that she would not leave Carlisle, notwithstanding the active preparations that were making for her journey, till the very day before that appointed by the English Council for her departure for Bolton Castle, when the arrival of Sir George Bowes, who had again been sent for by her keepers, at the head of forty armed horsemen for her escort, convinced her that she had no other choice than to submit to the hard law of necessity. "Surely if I should declare the difficulty we have had to get her to remove," writes Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil,[1] "instead of a letter I should have to write a story, and that somewhat tragical. But this I must say for her, that after she did see that neither her stout threatenings, nor her exclamations, nor her lamentations, could dissuade us from our preparations and constant seeming to have authority and determination to remove her—although we never said expressly that we had authority to remove her *nolens volens*—then, like a very wise woman, she sought to understand whether, if she did remove, she might send some of her noblemen into Scotland to confer with her party there."

Her loyal kinsman Lord Claud Hamilton and the Laird of Skirling were the gentlemen selected by Queen Mary "to return to Scotland, and comfort her friends there"[2] in her name, with messages of encouragement and assurances of hopes that were far from her desolate heart. The particulars of her parting with the attached adherents who had followed her to Carlisle, and lingered there to watch over her till her removal was effected, are not recorded. But the mournful passions of the scene may be imagined, when these true men of Scotland pressed round their lovely and beloved Queen, to bend the knee before her at her farewell reception in Carlisle Castle, and to kiss her hand for the last time, when she dismissed them with her thanks and blessings for their generous devotion to her

[1] Letter from Knollys to Cecil, dated Lowther, July 14. Cotton. MSS. Calig., B. ix., p. 289.

[2] Letter from Sir F. Knollys to Sir W. Cecil, July 25, 1568. Bolton Castle.

service. What floods of tears must have fallen from Mary's eyes at her final separation from subjects like these, who had testified their faith in her integrity by leaving country, friends, and fortunes, to share her doubtful fate in the ever-hostile realm of England, and would have given the last drop of blood in their veins to procure her freedom.

Mary left Carlisle on the morning of the 13th of July, surrounded, preceded, and followed by two strong companies of English guards, one under the command of Sir George Bowes, the other of Captain Read. She was accompanied by her keepers Lord Scroope and Sir Francis Knollys, and attended by her six faithful ladies, and as many of the voluntary followers of her adverse fortunes as could obtain permission to go with her in the capacity of servants. Twenty carriage-horses and twenty-three saddle-horses for the ladies and gentlemen of her suite, and four little cars, were hired for the accomplishment of the journey, as Sir Francis Knollys informs Cecil, with an apology for the expense thus incurred.

Lowther Castle, the feudal mansion of Lord Scroope's deputy-warden, Sir Richard Lowther, was the place chosen by Mary's keepers for her to sleep that night. "The cause why we chose this house for her remove towards Bolton Castle," writes Knollys, "was for that this house is twenty miles into the land from Carlisle, and standeth farther from the rescue of the Scots than any other house we could have chosen."[1]

Sir Richard Lowther paid his royal guest the respect of coming in person to meet and conduct her to his mansion. He fell in with her about four miles from the Castle, an encounter which Sir Francis Knollys, in recounting the circumstance to Cecil, prudently attributes to chance. Lowther had, however, the better excuse of being the bearer of a message from Queen Elizabeth to her royal kinswoman, informing her "that she had taken the trouble of preparing not only Bolton Castle, but four other houses,

[1] Sir F. Knollys to Sir W. Cecil, Lowther, July 14, 1568.

for her remove."[1] These were Tutbury, Sheffield, Chartley, and Fotheringay. Each of these became in turn the prison of the hapless Scottish Queen, in the course of the long years of durance to which she was doomed.

Mary supped and slept at Lowther Castle the first night of her journey from Carlisle to Bolton, July 13th, and breakfasted there on the morning of the 14th. The affectionate attention, respect, and sympathy with which she was treated by Sir Richard Lowther, his wife, mother, and sisters, made so lively an impression on Mary's heart that she was very loth to leave them. When the inevitable moment of parting came, she kissed and embraced the ladies of the family, and thanked them for the hospitality and kindness they had shown her. Fain would she have lingered, but the summons for her departure being reiterated, Sir Richard Lowther gave her his hand to lead her to her litter. When she reached the portal of the Castle she turned about to look on the friendly group once more, and burst into tears; then yielding to her impulsive feelings, she knelt, and, lifting up her hands, fervently pronounced her blessing on the house of Lowther through all generations, and prayed "that its prosperity might be augmented an hundredfold, and never fail."[2]

Neither the wealth nor honours of that ancient family, of which the Earl of Lonsdale is the descendant and representative, appear in truth to have decreased since the day when Mary Stuart bestowed all she had to give—her parting benediction on the line.[3] Lowther Castle, Cockermouth Hall, and Workington Hall, were the only three houses where Mary Stuart was permitted to taste genuine English hospitality. She had fallen on evil times!

[1] Knollys to Cecil, Lowther Castle, July 14, 1568. Brit. Museum, Cotton. MSS.

[2] Traditions of the Lowther Family.

[3] Sir Richard Lowther was the cousin of Queen Mary's first kind English host, Sir Henry Curwen of Workington Hall. His wife, Frances Middleton of Middleton, was a near relative of Sir Henry Curwen's mother, Agnes Strickland of Sizergh. Sir Richard Lowther was also cousin to Camden the historian, whose testimony in favour of Mary Stuart's innocence of the crimes with which she has been stigmatised, derives the greater importance from the fact of his close connection with

Queen Mary with her retinue and guard halted the second night at Wharton, and, after travelling all the next day, reached her destination on the evening of the 15th of July. The reverential attention and affectionate sympathy she had received from the Lowther family, had soothed her wounded spirit; the fresh air and pleasant features of the beautiful district of Richmondshire, with its green hills and flowery valleys, through which her route lay, must have contributed to tranquillise the excitement of her nervous system, for she arrived in a calm and placid frame of mind, as we find from the following report, written by Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil on the morrow, July 16th. "We arrived here at Bolton Castle with this Queen yesternight, one hour after sunsetting. And since her departure from Carlisle she hath been very quiet, very tractable, and void of displeasant countenance, although she seemeth she will not remove any further into the realm without constraint; the which removing will easilier be done, if taken in hand by better personages than we are. There hath been no repair to her by the way, as might have been looked for; the which repair, I suppose, was abridged by our sharp dealing with one Christopher Lassels coming to Carlisle out of Yorkshire, about three weeks past, of purpose to see this Queen."[1]

Bolton Castle is in the North Riding of Yorkshire, about ten miles from Richmond, in a very secluded locality, which, at the period Mary was brought thither, must have been considered an out-of-the-world place, and was apparently chosen for her prison both on account of its loneliness and strength. "This house," writes Knollys, "appeareth to be very strong, very fair, and very stately, after the old

so many persons of unimpeachable integrity, who were personally acquainted with her, and had enjoyed the opportunity of hearing those explanations from her own lips which she so often offered to give Queen Elizabeth in the presence of the English Parliament and the foreign ambassadors, and which Elizabeth refused to receive, apparently fearing to be compelled to acquit her of the calumnious imputations of the usurping faction, and to forego, in consequence of such aquittal, the political advantage of detaining her in prison, and ruling over Scotland through the subservient Regent, whom English influence had placed on Mary's throne

[1] Archæologia, vol. xxi. p. 161. Wright's Elizabeth.

manner of building, and is the highest walled one I have seen, and hath but one entrance thereinto, and half the number of soldiers may better watch and ward than the whole number at Carlisle."[1]

The building consisted of four large square towers at the corners, which were connected by intermediate suites of apartments, a story lower than the towers, enclosing a spacious court. A small tower rose in the centre. The north and south sides were a hundred and eighty-five feet in length, the east and west façades a hundred and twenty-eight. The apartments occupied by Queen Mary were at the south-west angle of the building; they are at present tenanted by a farmer's family.[2] "One thing I much noted in the Hall of Bolton," observes quaint old Leland, "how chimneys were conveyed by tunnels, made in the sides of the walls, betwixt the lights in the hall, and by this means, and not by covers, is the smoke of the hearth wonder-strangely conveyed;"[3] meaning that the warm air was diffused through the large cold apartment by flues, a great novelty in the science of domestic comfort in the sixteenth century. "There was also," according to Leland, "a very fair clock at Bolton, with the motion of the sun and moon, and other conclusions;" what these were he does not explain.

This spacious feudal mansion, a massive ruin of which is still in existence, is seated on a rocky eminence above Wensleydale, and commands a glorious prospect of the valley of the Ure, Bishopsdale, and the scattered hamlets, interspersed with woods, on the lofty range of the southern

[1] Bolton Castle was built in the close of the thirteenth century by Richard Lord Scroope, Steward of Richard the Second's household, and afterwards Lord Chancellor of England. This stupendous pile of masonry was erected in eighteen years, at the expense of 18,000 marks. The original agreement with the mason was shown me by the present noble possessor of the domain, Lord Bolton, among his rich collection of charters and territorial deeds at Bolton Hall. The timber used in the building was brought from Ingleby forest by relays of oxen sent to different stations to meet the woodmen and their burden.

[2] A drawing of the antique window of her bedchamber has been engraved in the *Archæologia*. In this window she had written her name with a diamond, but the pane of glass was unfortunately broken in an attempt to remove it by the desire of a dowager Lady Bolton, who desired to possess the autograph of the royal captive.

[3] Itinerary, vol. viii. p. 66.

hills. On the green behind the Castle, a crystal spring of delicious water gushes out and forms a natural fountain. Bolton Castle is considered bleak and dreary in the winter, but at the sweet season of the year when Mary Stuart was reluctantly brought thither, every approach to it was clad with the richest verdure, and redolent of midsummer flowers, brier roses, and woodbine, profusely garlanding the hedge-rows, harebells, larger and brighter even than those in Scotland, waving from every crag, blended with purple heath; tall, graceful spikes of throatwort, with its azure bells, mingled with nodding crimson foxgloves; while, beneath, pansies and wild thyme enamelled the velvet turf. Surely our sad northern Queen had never seen such an affluence of flowers, even in her regretted France, as those which greeted her in Wensleydale, and begemmed the picturesque cliffs of Leyburn, a district which combines in softer beauty some of the romantic features of Scotland with the festive and rejoicing scenery of merry England.

At Bolton Castle Mary was received and welcomed by Lady Scroope, the same noble matron who had met her at Cockermouth, with the English ladies of the Border, and attended her to Carlisle. The friendship that was then commenced between them had been cemented by a link unsuspected at the time by Queen Elizabeth and her Council, or Bolton Castle would have been the last place in the realm to which the royal captive would have been sent. The fact that Lady Scroope's brother, the Duke of Norfolk, had visited Queen Mary secretly at Carlisle, while she was under the charge of Sir Richard Lowther, had not then transpired.

So entirely unprovided was Bolton Castle with plenishings meet for the reception of a royal guest, that Sir George Bowes considered it his duty to supply some of the deficiences, by sending for hangings and bedding from his own house, though a very considerable distance from that neighbourhood. Sir Francis Knollys, in his letter to Cecil recounting the services of Sir George Bowes, not only in assisting in removing the Queen of Scots from Carlisle, but contributing to the scanty furniture of Bolton Castle,

observes, "for the which he is worthy of thanks at the Queen's Majesty's hands, since we had otherwise been destitute of convenient stuff for her Majesty's honour."[1] It was nearly four years before Queen Elizabeth could be persuaded to remunerate Sir George Bowes for his expenses in bringing his men to assist in the removal of her royal captive from Carlisle. He was also a considerable loser by the loan of his furniture. Poor Mary, who never forgot a kindness, having occasion to write to him eleven years afterwards, mentioned in very gracious terms her remembrance of the courtesies he had shown to her during her abode at Bolton.[2] His cousin, Mrs. Marjory Bowes, was the first wife of her great adversary, John Knox.

Among other preparations for the temporary residence of the royal captive at Bolton Castle, "provision was ordered to be made," from Queen Elizabeth's household, "of pewter vessels, brass pots and pans, racks and spits, and a copper kettle, for the boiling beef, garden sauces, and other necessaries incident to dinners."[3] A warrant to the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was issued for wood to be appointed for making charcoal in the forests pertaining to his office for her use, and weekly provision of venison was ordered to be made. Furniture was borrowed of different gentry in the neighbourhood of Bolton, but the owners were very anxious to have it again, as her stay was longer than they anticipated. Sir Francis Knollys speaks of the plate and stuff he expected Elizabeth to send to replace the borrowed, but observes: "I have not written for any cloth-of-estate (royal canopy), because this Queen maketh small regard of ceremonious honour, although to prosper in deeds of weight her desire is not inferior to the greatest princes; and yet sure her familiar courtesy becomes her very well, and very plausible through her discreet usage thereof."

Among the recently discovered letters from Queen Mary

[1] Memorials of the Northern Rebellion, by Sir C. Sharpe—Appendix.
[2] Ibid.
[3] State Paper Office MSS. inedited, July 1568. Endorsed by Cecil—"Mr Stonhouse for matters of y^e^ Q. of Scots."

to the secularised Abbot of St Colme, Lord Doune,[1] in the family archives of the Earl of Moray at Donibristle House, is one without date, written soon after her arrival at Bolton. Both as a specimen of the mysterious style of her secret correspondence, when not veiled in cipher, and an historical document of some importance, showing how completely she confided in Elizabeth's flattering promises, it will form an attractive page in the biography of Mary Stuart.

"I have written several times, and have had no answer; and now Clemets Hob has written to me that he had a letter from you, but has lost it, at which I should be much vexed if on anything of importance. He writes 'that the subject was to have my opinion on the Conference.' I can tell you that I shall not go to it, for this Queen will surely prevent it. She has promised faithfully and fully to accept my excuse, and, above all, to restore me to my government in Scotland. She will have me accord my pardon to the other people. Rischi is in Scotland. I have written to you by him. If you can go to him, he will explain more fully, but not if it is troublesome, and the bearer of this can deliver it in person.

"I dare not write more than that you are to be of good courage. You will hear news from France and elsewhere very soon; but I hope this Queen will not make me lose all. Make me a cipher, and send it to me, and I will inform you more fully. In the mean time, be constant, of which I make no doubt, and assure yourself of me as your best friend. I speak after the fashion of former times.

"If I had a sare man, I have a passport for him, and want him to strain every nerve to come to Bolton, and return by the second of August. I cannot write more, having no opportunity, save to commend me to your brothers-in-law, even if they be not together, and send me him of the long robe. I will procure a passport for him, that he may go to our people at Johnston. I will guarantee him from harm, for I will write about it to this Queen, Her whom you knew of old."[2]

Queen Mary was rejoined at Bolton by James Borthwick, one of her accredited messengers to the Court of London. He told her, among other things, in the presence of Sir Francis Knollys, "that Cecil had said 'he longed to hear of her arrival at Bolton, and marvelled that he heard

[1] His eldest son afterwards married the daughter and surviving heiress of the Regent Moray.

[2] The signature is a hieroglyphical figure. The original French holograph was courteously transmitted to me, with the rest of the correspondence, and other inedited royal letters, by the Honourable John Stuart, brother to the Earl of Moray, in whose charter-room at Donibristle these interesting documents are preserved, which are for the first time introduced to the historical reader in this Life of Mary Stuart.

not of her removal.'"—"He is a great furtherer of my cause!"[1] was Mary's ironical rejoinder; an observation that was considered by Knollys of sufficient importance to report to Cecil.[2] The knowledge that Mary regarded him as her enemy did not increase that minister's goodwill for her.

Much has been said of Mary's habitual dissimulation by historians unworthy of the name, who, without making the slightest research for themselves, have taken the unsubstantiated assertions of her political libellers on trust. The facts invariably demonstrate that Mary was the creature of impulse, felt keenly, and rarely exerted sufficient self-control to conceal her feelings. Many of her troubles resulted from the unguarded frankness of her character. Her anger and its effects might be compared to a brief summer storm, a flash of lightning, a clap of thunder followed by a shower of rain, and then returning sunshine. True woman, proud and quick to take offence, but quickly mollified, her great weakness was the excess of charity which inclined her not only to forgive, but to believe and trust those who had injured her, and those whose interest it was to deceive and circumvent her. "She saith," observes Knollys,[3] "that my Lord of Moray's chief harkbussiers are gone from him to serve for hire in Denmark, and she assureth herself the Earl of Atholl to be hers, and she supposeth Lethington to be a-wavering, and she saith 'all Scotland is weary of my Lord of Moray's government, and ready to yield unto her.' She likes my Lord of Moray's letter well, whereof I sent you the copy, and she saith, 'he would do well enough of his own nature, saving that he is somewhat puffed up by others, and made too desirous of government.' And upon the liking of his letter she hath written another unto him in French, the which she read unto us, wherein she accuseth him of ingratitude, but yet after a friendly manner of quarrelling, so that it seems she would fain win him, and that she is not utterly out of hope thereof."

[1] Sir F. Knollys to Sir W. Cecil, Bolton, July 25, 1568—State Paper Office MS., inedited. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

Very plausible must have been Moray's first letter to his royal sister, to produce so delusive an impression on her mind. His second, of which he sent a copy to Lord Scroope, to be forwarded to Queen Elizabeth, is a masterpiece of art and effrontery, glozing over all his treason against his injured Sovereign, under the hypocritical pretexts of duty to God and his country. Mary had asked him "how he could find it in his heart, after receiving so many benefits at her hands, to pursue her life in his Parliament, in addition to the many outrages he had committed against her." To which he adroitly answers, "that if he had desired to shorten her days, he had had within the last twelvemonth past greater means to do it than ever the will had entered his heart."[1] Small indeed was his merit in abstaining from shedding blood that would have been required at his hands by every true man in Scotland. Well did he know that even his guilty confederates, Morton and Lethington, would have been the first to excite the avenging fury of the people against him, by denouncing him as her murderer, even if she had died a natural death while in the keeping of his mother at Lochleven. "I shall never," continues he, "ask God mercy for any thought that ever entered in my mind towards the life of any mortal man; let be of your Grace, whom I take God to witness I have loved as dearly as ever I did, or shall, any living creature." What a manly burst of honest feeling does this appear, till we remember that the same hand which penned it subscribed the murderous bond for David Riccio's slaughter in cold blood! Could Moray so deceive himself as to think he had no cause to ask God's mercy for his practices against that man's life? None for the deliberate malice that foredoomed the barbarous deed to be perpetrated in the presence of a young pregnant woman, and she his sister and his Sovereign? None for consenting to her death, when he trusted the penalty of the regicide would fall on her besotted husband, and leave the path to the seat of empire open for himself? Yet in the face of

[1] Anderson, vol. iv. p. 117.

these offences, and of his more recent acts of treason, defamation and supplanting, he could call on his all-seeing Maker to witness how dearly he had loved her whom he had thus deeply injured.

Queen Mary in her Memorial, addressed to all Christian Princes, thus calls attention to his practices, from his first entrance on the political arena :—

"Every person of sound judgment who, without partial views, will develop the truth, must perceive plainly that the proceedings of the Earl of Moray, from the time when, as the Prior of St Andrews only, he laid the train of these troubles in Scotland, which, commencing a little before the death of the late Queen-Regent (whom God absolve), and increasing to the present period, have tended to no other end than the usurpation of the authority of the realm, whatsoever hypocrisy or dissimulation he has used to colour his designs. The detail of the wickednesses he and his adherents have practised in regard to this would fill a volume ; but it may suffice to mention here their most recent, where cruelty was united with the extreme of fraud and malice, a deed under the shadow of which they have falsely imputed crime to the Queen their sovereign lady and mistress, and under that pretext invaded her crown. The Earl of Moray in less than eight months having thrice attempted the enterprise he has finally executed, namely, to seize the person of her Majesty, and having thrice failed in his design, came to throw himself at her feet; and she, always pardoning him, granted him three remissions, being moved thereto by the affection she bore to him who had the honour to be accounted her illegitimate brother. Perceiving then, that by open force he could not compass his end, for the people were always for her Majesty, though he had underhand endeavoured to render her odious to them by means of the ministers, who in their exhortations called her an idolatress, he and his confederates devised a mean, the most disloyal that could be imagined, not only to alienate the affection her subjects bore her, but to make them hate her, by murdering her Majesty's husband in so mysterious a manner, that in time they might be able to fling the suspicion of the deed on her. She not doubting but that treasonable enterprise (the slaughter of her husband and the destruction of the house of Kirk-of-Field) had been intended against her own person, gave them express charge to inquire into the matter, in order that she might discover and punish the culprits. In this her Majesty could not but marvel at the little diligence they used, and that they looked at one another as men who wist not what to say or do, when they found themselves, with the rest of her Council, assembled for that purpose."[1]

This description of the demeanour of the unsuspected assassins of poor Darnley, at the Privy Council holden for

[1] From the French document printed in Teulet's Collections. A copy in Italian has been printed by Prince Labanoff from the Archives di Medici.

the elucidation of the tragedy, in which they had been so deeply implicated, is too graphic not to have been true. Invention, aiming at producing strong impressions, colours too highly, and is apt to amplify and go beyond the simplicity of facts, in like manner as actors exaggerate passions on the stage, which, in real life, are suppressed and kept as much out of sight as possible by those who feel them most. Had Mary been inventing, she would have used declamatory language, and entered into details of what was said and done by the conspirators on this memorable occasion, to serve as evidence against them, and with her poetic imagination and eloquence, worked up a powerful scene, instead of the brief matter-of-fact report of their behaviour she has given. Those who had signed the bond drawn by Sir James Balfour for Darnley's murder, conscious of guilt, studied to avoid saying or doing anything likely to commit themselves; but not knowing what might come out in evidence, where so large a number of dishonourable persons were concerned, were too anxious and apprehensive to assume the fearless composure of innocence. Mary, however, alludes to Lethington, Balfour, Makgill, Bellenden, and some others, not to Moray, who, as she explains, by his precipitate departure to St Andrews, had cleverly spared himself from the danger of arrest on suspicion of having been the author of the crime, and the difficulty of taking a proper part in the investigation.

In this Memorial Mary never speaks of Bothwell as her husband, and treats their marriage as a nullity, by not so much as condescending to mention it; the history of that degrading wedlock being briefly comprehended in her intimation "that, with the consent and by the advice of the conspirators, he obtained forcible possession of her person." Those who, unblinded by prejudice, review the circumstances under which the marriage took place, no papal dispensation having been sought by Mary to legalise matrimony with him who had been her cousin's husband—a fact which, in the opinion of persons of the Romish communion, would stigmatise the offspring of such

marriage—and remember the evidences of her despair on the morning after these nuptials had been forced upon her, unsanctioned by the rites of her own church, must perceive that it was no less compulsory on her part than her abdication of her Crown, which, with about the same regard to truth, was asserted by the conspirators to be her own voluntary act.

But to return to the regular chain of events. Mary was cheered by the arrival of her faithful servant, Lord Herries, at Bolton Castle, on the 25th of July, after his long detention at the Court of London. He brought her flattering hopes of her speedy restoration to her regal inheritance, Queen Elizabath having so completely deluded him on that subject, that he could not refrain from whispering in Sir Francis Knollys' ear, "that she intended to take order with the Earl of Moray for reducing him to his obedience."[1] Mary, in the fulness of her heart, sent for Scroope and Knollys, and commanded Herries "to repeat the satisfactory message from their Sovereign to her, of which he was the bearer, in their presence," the effect whereof, Knollys tells Cecil, was, "that if she would commit her cause to be heard by Queen Elizabeth's order, not as her judge, but rather as her dear cousin and friend to commit herself to her advice and counsel, she (Elizabeth) would surely set her again in her regal seat."[2] The plan proposed by Elizabeth was, to send for such nobles from Scotland as were Mary's adversaries, to ask account of them before such noblemen of England as Mary herself should approve, why they had deposed their Queen and Sovereign from her government; and that if they should allege some reason for it, she would reinstate Mary, on condition that they were continued in their estates, honours, and dignities; but if they should not be able to allege any just reason for their proceedings, she engaged absolutely to restore her by force of arms, if they should resist, provided Mary would renounce any claim or title to the throne of

[1] Knollys to Cecil, Bolton, July 25, 1568. Inedited State Paper Office MS.

[2] Ibid., July 28. Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. p. 110.

England during the continuance of her life and issue; on condition also of her leaving the strait league with France, entering into league with England, abandoning the mass in Scotland, and receiving the Common Prayer after the form of England.

"This message," continues Knollys, "Lord Herries repeated seven or eight times in our hearing unto this Queen; and although at the first she seemed to make some scruple in yielding hereunto, yet upon further conference with my Lord Herries, said 'she would submit her cause unto her Highness in thankful manner accordingly.'" [1]

Mary wrote to Queen Elizabeth without delay, thanking her in the most affectionate terms for the message of which Lord Herries was the bearer. She thus gracefully signifies her acquiescence in the plan proposed by Elizabeth:—

"On your word there is nothing I would not adventure, for I can never doubt your honour or your royal faith, and thus shall I be content with what Lord Herries tells me you desire, and that those whom you please shall come, assuring myself that they will be well chosen men of rank, fit for so important a charge. Moray or Morton, or both of them, as the principal of those who maintain the charge that is alleged against me, can come, as you desire to take with them such order as shall seem good to you, treating me as their Queen according to the promises made to me in your name by my Lord Herries, without prejudice to my crown, dignity, or the rank which I hold as your nearest of blood." [2]

She informs Elizabeth "that she had, according to the request which Lord Herries had conveyed to her for that purpose, directed her faithful subjects, then assembling in great force to prevent Moray from holding his threatened Parliament for attainting them, to disperse and remain quiet, as her good sister had guaranteed that Moray should not attempt anything of a hostile nature;" "also, that she had written to countermand the promised forces from France and Spain for the succour of her adherents, being willing to owe everything to the friendship promised by Elizabeth." [3] Mary never committed a greater error.

[1] Knollys to Cecil, Bolton, July 28, 1568. Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. p. 110.
[2] Letter from Mary to Elizabeth, July 28—Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 140.
[3] Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, Bolton Castle, July 28, 1568.

George Douglas had just succeeded in raising a thousand volunteers in France for her service, whom in consequence of these fatal orders he was compelled to disband, to the unspeakable grief and disappointment of her party.[1]

Huntley and Argyll were then in the field at the head of nearly ten thousand men, and having reduced the northern and western districts to their duty, were rapidly advancing to the south, with every prospect of crushing the usurping Regent. The Lords of Queen Mary's party, including two-thirds of the nobility of Scotland, had consented to forget old feuds and coalesce heartily for her sake with the Hamiltons. In this laudable spirit they had convened at Largs, and on the very day her ill-judged assent to Elizabeth's requisitions was written, they had united in addressing a manly remonstrance to that Princess on her detention of their Sovereign, praying "that she might be restored to them, as everything went wrong in her absence."[2] This address was signed by twenty-one nobles. These great peers convened a Parliament in Queen Mary's name at Ayr in the beginning of August, at which the proceedings of the rebel Lords were condemned, and the Earl of Moray was, by public proclamation in that town, denounced "as the murderer, by procuration, of the Queen's husband, the late King, because he was a papist."[3] All men were at the same time commanded, in the Queen's name, to hold themselves in readiness with their weapons of war, against they should be summoned to avenge the same. The Hamiltons then marched to Hamilton Castle, which they recaptured, and were proceeding triumphantly, till Mary's fatal orders paralysed their energies and ruined the cause.

Unfortunately for Mary, the flattering promises with which Elizabeth had deluded Lord Herries were only verbal. Mary requested her good sister to direct Mr Secretary Cecil to put them in black and white, by writing an official letter,

[1] State Paper Correspondence.
[2] July 28, 1568. Wright's Elizabeth.
[3] Drury to Cecil, August 15, 1568. Border Correspondence—State Paper MS., inedited.

stating in explicit terms the proposition sent to her through Lord Herries, but her request was evaded, and the promises were, of course, violated. Mary, however, confiding in the honour of the English Sovereign, regained her elastic spirits for the first time since the murder of her husband. When she had been a fortnight at Bolton Castle, Knollys writes the following report of her to Cecil: "The Queen here is merry, and hunteth and passeth her time in pleasant manner." The influence of the bracing delicious air and glorious scenery of Wensleydale, the bold hills of Richmondshire, reminding her of some of the royal sporting-grounds in Fife and Stirlingshire, had produced a beneficial effect on the shattered health of the poor fugitive, whose nervous system had suffered so many agonising shocks during the last three years, for so long and no more was it since the public solemnisation of her nuptials with her ill-fated cousin. Years of agonising excitement, sickness, and disappointed hope they had been, combined with outrages and scenes of horror unexampled at that time in the history of female royalty. Under how light a calamity, in comparison to one of the griefs and humiliations she had endured, had her royal father lain down and died! But Mary Stuart, proud and sensitive though she were by nature, resigned herself to the will of God with frequent prayers for patience under the injuries and provocations of her slanderers and persecutors, and, instead of fretting her life away, lived bravely on, through all the trials that were appointed to prove her virtue, as an ensample of how much may be borne by woman.

Mary's deportment and manners were gentle and winning in the domestic circle. "I am sure," said she playfully to Lord Scroope and Sir Francis Knollys, "that if I would have returned into Scotland from Carlisle you would not have resisted me by force." Lord Herries, who was present, merrily confirmed her opinion. But they testily retorted: "What they should do in such cases they must learn of the Queen their mistress, and in nowise of any Scotchman."[1] They complained privately to Lord Herries

[1] Scroope and Knollys to Cecil, July 28, 1568. Anderson.

of the increasing number of Queen Mary's retinue since her arrival at Bolton, the meaner sort of whom were living at Queen Elizabeth's expense. Herries inquired "what number her Highness might be allowed?" Knollys replied, "thirty men and six gentlemen were enough to remain at his Sovereign's charges." Herries then said "that, although his Queen would be loth to put away any, yet he trusted she would be contented to find the overplus at her own charges in the town." "I have often complained," observes Knollys, "and contended with the chief servants of this Queen in this behalf, and in some parts I have bridled them, because their greediness hath been insatiable; but this Queen was never privy to their insatiableness before now that my Lord Herries hath opened it."[1] The number of Queen Mary's servants at Bolton Castle amounted to forty, including her women. "She hath dismissed," reports Knollys in his next letter, "and returned a dozen or sixteen into Scotland. All her servants of the stable, and divers others, to the number of twenty, do board in the town" (probably Leyburn, for there is no town nearer to Bolton Castle). Divers of her gentlemen *bwoyes* (boys) and hungry servants are shifted out of this house."

The expenses of the long journey with so many persons from Carlisle to Bolton, had, it seems, exhausted all the money Mary's keepers could command, and Knollys earnestly petitions Cecil for a fresh supply in their extreme need, of which he says they had before apprised him. In another letter he begs "that, when the money is sent, it may not be openly, by carrying it on a spare horse, for fear of misadventures by the way from these hungry thieves." "Wherefore, I pray you," he continues, "let my *klarkes* convert it into gold, and let them bring it klosely about them."[2]

Although the distance from the Border, and the isolated situation of Bolton Castle, prevented such resort to Mary as there was at Carlisle, she was neither forgotten nor

[1] Scroope and Knollys to Cecil, July 28, 1568. Anderson.
[2] Knollys to Cecil, July 26.

deserted by her loyal subjects. The following quaint description of one of her nobles who came to pay his devoir to her a few days after her arrival, is communicated by Knollys to Cecil. "There is an *owlde* baron called the Lord Roslin, dwelling within six miles of Edinburgh, is come lately hither to this Queen. He is said to be of as great revenue as my Lord Herries, but he hath not half so much wit. He is called rich, and a great sparer of money, but what he may get by his sparing I know not, but by invention and policy it seemeth he should get but little. They say his possessions are seized on by the Regent, and belike that is the cause of his coming from his own country hither. He is called a Papist by this Queen, and whether his religion hath wrought anything with him in this action I know not."[1]

A design was in agitation in the beginning of August for conveying Mary from Bolton Castle across the Border to Fernyhirst Castle, where her loyal servant, the Laird of Fernyhirst, was in eager expectation of her arrival for several days. The chivalric project of her deliverance was devised by a secret association of English gentlemen. "The chief enterpriser whereof," writes the Regent Moray to Sir John Forster, whom he anxiously warns of the plot, "is thought to be your friend George Heron."[2]

The traditions of Bolton and Wensleydale assert that Mary made a daring attempt to escape by being let down from a window in Bolton Castle, the only one looking into the country. The path she took is pointed out through the coppices that fringe the lofty terrace-hill with its natural battlement of rocks. A board with an inscription recording the incident has been put up to mark the place—that picturesque pass in Leyburn Shawl, about

[1] Knollys to Cecil, July 30—State Paper Office MS. inedited. The ravages perpetrated by the Regent Moray on the estate and property of this loyal old peer, out of revenge for his uncompromising adherence to the cause of his captive Sovereign, are thus briefly noticed in the contemporary satirical poem by Tom Treuth :—

> "Then Roslin bower, of brave attire, which Saintclere doth possess,
> Most shamefully he ransacked, too, to work him more distress."

[2] Wright's Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 207.

two miles from Bolton Castle, now called, in memory of that circumstance, "The Queen's gap," where the royal fugitive, when she had all but recovered her liberty, was overtaken by Lord Scroope and her guards, recaptured, and brought back. The influence of Lady Scroope must have been successfully exerted, not only with her lord, but Sir Francis Knollys, and every one in Bolton Castle, to hush up the perilous tale of the attempted escapade of their illustrious charge, for whose safe keeping they were all answerable with their lives.

Mary's absence was regarded by the best and noblest men in Scotland as a national calamity at this period, while the odium into which her usurping brother had fallen was attested by public clamour and repeated confederacies against his life. These originated not with her friends, but among his own political tools and confederates who had been her greatest enemies, such, for instance, as the two Murrays of Tullibardine and Patrick Bellenden: the latter, it will be remembered, she had excluded from the pardon accorded by her to Riccio's assassins, for aiming his regicidal poniard at her bosom in the hurlyburly. Moray had recalled and rewarded him, but not enough to satisfy him. The enormous bribes and patronage lavished on Sir James Balfour had not only opened the eyes of right-thinking men to the motive for them, but provoked the envy and ill-will of meaner villains, whose cupidity the righteous Regent had neither the power nor the will to satisfy. Supported, however, by a standing force, and possessed of all the available resources of the Crown of Scotland, Moray made these plots an excuse for establishing a despotism unexampled in the history of that realm, crushing not only the avowed adherents of Queen Mary, but ridding himself of all dangerous or suspected persons who had incurred his ill-will. To the astonishment of every one, he thought proper to accuse his own recently-inaugurated Lion King of Arms, Sir William Stuart, of being an accomplice in Patrick Bellenden's plot for his assassination.[1] A frightful

1 Drury to Cecil, August 8, 1568—State Paper MS., inedited. Diurnal of Occurrents. Chalmers.

tragedy, and not the least mysterious of the many dark transactions in which Moray's name is involved, must now be related, as it materially affects the credibility of the so-called confessions of Nicholas Hubert, *alias* French Paris, on which great stress has been laid by Laing, Mignet, and other writers, who have assumed Mary's guilt on no better evidence than the fabrications produced against her by the usurpers of her Government.

Sir William Stuart, when he was the Albany Herald, had been sent by Moray, in September 1567, to demand the person of the Earl of Bothwell; but the King of Denmark, choosing to retain that great state-criminal in his own keeping, yet willing to preserve his alliance with Scotland unbroken, compounded the matter by giving up his servant Nicholas Hubert, whom Stuart brought back to Scotland as a prisoner in the beginning of the year 1568, and delivered to Moray, by whom he was incarcerated in a dungeon, first in Edinburgh Castle, and then at St Andrews, subjected to the torture, and practised with in every possible way, in order to induce him to bear false witness against the Queen; but as it was found impossible to make him useful in that way, he was, after a year and a half's solitary confinement, hanged at St Andrews, August 16, 1569, and the slanderous falsehoods, which no tortures could compel him to depose against the Queen, were published by Moray after his death under the name of his "Confessions." Hubert's revelations to Sir William Stuart during his voyage from Denmark had probably been of a very different nature; for Moray, though he bestowed on Stuart pecuniary rewards, and promoted him to the high office of Lord Lion King of Arms at his first arrival, took a very early opportunity for seeking his life under a false accusation, seized his property, degraded him from his office, which he conferred on a connection of his brother-in-law, Lord Lindsay,[1] and invented a pretext for proceeding against his life. Sir William Stuart fled to Dumbarton, whence he addressed the follow-

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents. Chalmers' Life of Moray. State Paper Office Correspondence, inedited.

ing eloquent letter to a nobleman of Moray's party, who had written to Lord Fleming, the Governor of Dumbarton, demanding him to be given up to justice. Under such circumstances, it is a document that demands peculiar attention. It seems that Stuart had already ventured to warn the nobleman to whom he writes (probably the Earl of Atholl) of the deceptive part played by Moray, and the injurious consequences likely to ensue to his dupes:—

"My Lord,—I doubt not but the writing sent by you to my good Lord and master, my Lord Fleming, was by the instigation of some other, for I cannot think ye can be so ingrate as to seek my innocent life and blood, considering that I have so favourably and so oft forewarned you of the great misery ye are like to fall in now for not following my counsel and admonitions made oft and in due time. Desist, I pray you, to seek farther my blood, for, as I shall answer to the eternal God, I never conspired nor consented to the Earl of Moray's death. . . . I fear you not, nor none of that monstrous faction, for as God is the defender of innocents, so is He the just and severe punisher of cruel monsters and usurpers, who spare not to execute all kind of cruelty under the pretext of religion and justice. For to accomplish and perform the umatural, ingrate, and ambitious designs, I am innocently persecuted, accused, and detracted. But there be some of his own secret council that, both directly and indirectly, have sought that bloody usurper's life, whom I shall name as occasion shall serve. Be, therefore, I pray you, rather a protector than a persecutor of my innocent life, and advertise me, if it be your good pleasure, what are the crimes whereof they accuse me, and what may move them thus earnestly to seek the life of so simple a creature, who never, to this hour, offended small nor great, in honour, life, lands, nor goods."[1]

This manly and eloquent letter is dated from Dumbarton, the 19th of August 1568. Stuart was not so fortunate as to remain long in that safe refuge; but falling, through some unexplained mischance, into Moray's hands, was incarcerated for several months in Edinburgh Castle, whence he was removed to a dungeon in St Andrews Castle, and condemned to death by a very summary process for practices against the Regent's life. As no evidence could be produced for that unproved offence, Moray affected to pardon him, but only that he might inflict a more barbarous sentence upon him by consigning him to the flames,

[1] The orthography of this important letter is modernised to render it intelligible to the general reader, but the original may be referred to in Cotton. Lib. Calig., vol. ix. p. 272.

under a pretended accusation of witchcraft, August 15, 1569, the day before the execution of Hubert,[1] whom it was not considered prudent for him to survive. In what manner the luckless Lion King provoked his former patron to inflict a sentence so much more terrible than that to which he doomed the alleged partaker in Darnley's murder, must remain matter of conjecture till that day when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed.

The above letter, however, affords the strongest grounds for conjecturing that Sir William Stuart had, in consequence of his mission to Denmark, and his conferences with the wretched tool and confident of the conspirators, Nicholas Hubert, and others of Bothwell's accomplices, during his long voyage, become possessed of information calculated to exonerate the most illustrious of the victims of that murderous conspiracy which had been the means of elevating Moray to the sovereign authority of Scotland.

[1] Balfour's Annals—Diurnal of Occurrents. State Paper Office MSS., inedited.

MARY STUART.

CHAPTER XLIV.

SUMMARY.

Queen Mary at Bolton Castle—Attends the services of the English Church—Grows into good liking of the Liturgy—Takes a Protestant Chaplain—Listens attentively to his sermons—Her Protestant friends—Hopes of her conversion—Aggressions of Moray on her party—She writes indignantly to Elizabeth—Angry rejoinder of that Queen—Mary's pathetic reply—Majority of the Scotch nobles in her favour—They petition for the restoration of their Queen—Commissioners appointed for investigation of the quarrel between Mary and her rebel Lords—Mary offers to give her jewels to Elizabeth—Her first attempt at writing English—She is visited by George Carey, Lord Hunsdon's heir—Their conversation—Gavin Hamilton brings affectionate messages and letters to her from Queen Elizabeth—Mary's confidence in her friendship—Lesley, Bishop of Ross, arrives at Bolton—He undeceives Mary—Regrets her consent to the Conferences—Shows the danger of English interference—Mary's hopes of success—Her confidence in the Duke of Norfolk's influence—Hostility of Sir R. Sadler, one of the Commissioners appointed to try her cause—Lesley counteracts her growing inclination towards the English Church—Her letter to the Queen of Spain—Meeting of the Commissioners at York—Proceedings of the Conference—Proofs of the confederacy between Cecil and the Scotch Commissioners for Mary's defamation.

In the house and society of her kind hostess, Lady Scroope, who had been educated, like her brother the Duke of Norfolk, in the principles of the Anglican Church,[1] of which both were members, Mary Stuart enjoyed the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the tenets and practice of that pure and apostolic branch of the reformed faith, which had taken root in the land of promise

[1] They had been the pupils of Foxe the Martyrologist.

over which she hoped one day to reign. Perceiving nothing to which she could on conscientious grounds object, she scrupled not to join in the worship, and "grew," we are told, "into a good liking of the Liturgy."[1] She even received an English divine into her service, who was accounted a good preacher; "and hath heard him," pursues our authority, "inveigh in his sermons against pharisaical justification by works, and all kinds of papistry, to the advancement of the Gospel, with attentive and contented ears.[2] And she hath seemed repentantly to acknowledge that her offences, and negligence of her duty towards God, hath justly deserved the infamous punishment and disgrace, as she saith, done unto her by her adversaries in her own country."

Lord Herries, who had, like herself, been educated in the tenets of the Church of Rome, but had embraced the principles of the Reformation, and was regarded as one of the most worthy of the Lords of Congregation, having, during his detention in London, become acquainted with the edifying and orderly worship established in England, was anxious that Queen Mary should become a convert to its doctrines, and consent to the establishment of the Liturgy in Scotland. "In cities and towns," said he, "where learned preachers remain, I can allow very well of the order of prayer and preaching now used in Scotland; but in country places, where learned men are rare, the form of common prayer as used in England is better, according to my judgment." Mary being at that time much influenced by this honest and liberal-minded nobleman, and surrounded by persons holding the like opinions, such as Lord and Lady Livingstone, on whose sincerity she could rely, was induced not only to listen patiently, but to unite with them in prayer.

Lord Scroope, elated at having prevailed thus far over prejudices hitherto regarded as indomitable, wrote to the Regent Moray, communicating his hopes that Mary would, ere long, abandon the mass. A French fleet in the Forth would have been less alarming to the usurper of Mary's government than the prospect of her conversion from her

[1] Letter from Sir F. Knollys to Cecil, July 28, 1568. [2] Ibid.

unpopular religion. He replied to Scroope's announcement in a tone which savoured little of the feelings either of a brother or a Christian,[1] much less of the tender affection he had professed for his royal sister in his previous letter to herself. He was just then in so ticklish a position that nothing but the detention of Mary's person in England, and the diversion in his favour caused by Elizabeth's deluding her to write to her partisans to abstain from hostilities on him, preserved him in his authority. So far, however, from observing the engagement which had been made in his name by his august ally, he availed himself of that opportunity for crushing Queen Mary's friends by force of arms, and seizing their castles and property.

In the first bitterness of her feelings on perceiving how completely she had been duped, Mary addressed an indignant letter to Elizabeth, reproaching her for the part she had acted. Elizabeth, glad of any pretext for quarrelling with her, replied so angrily, that Mary, who was in no position to maintain the high tone she had taken up, offered an apology for her passionate language, pathetically observing, "that if she had said anything unbecoming it had been the natural result of her misery, and the injurious manner in which she had been treated." Elizabeth had taunted her "with shunning the light;" Mary, with quiet dignity, repelled the charge, by reminding her "that she had offered to meet an investigation in Westminster Hall in her presence."[2]

Elizabeth had assured Mary that she would not permit the Earl of Moray to do anything against her or her adherents in the Parliament he was preparing to hold on the 18th of August, for it was nothing more than a convention of his own friends, to choose commissioners to be sent to the conference in England, for the composition of the present unhappy differences. The Regent, however, acting in direct violation of his royal friend's guarantee, convened a Parliament, made up of his creatures, to confirm him in the Government, and pass the most stringent resolutions against

[1] The Regent Moray to Lord Scroope, August 7, 1568—Anderson.
[2] Mary to Elizabeth, Bolton, August 7, 1568—Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 148.

Queen Mary, approving of all that had been done against her; also proscribing all the nobles attached to her party, confiscating their estates, and ordaining the sale of all her jewels, the best of which he had already secretly converted into money, and used as bribes, without waiting for that ceremony. It was to no purpose that Mary complained to Elizabeth, and even sent her a copy of the letter which had beguiled her into the folly of writing to her nobles to disband their armies,[1] and that the nobles themselves united in memorialising Elizabeth on the subject, and demanding redress. They at the same time repeated their petition for the liberation and return of Queen Mary, reminding Elizabeth "of the letter they had written to her from Largs in that behalf; and as," continue they, "we have received no answer from your Highness, and we think the time very long, both through the absence of our sovereign lady, and sundry other inconveniences we receive thereby, beseeching most humbly your Highness to restore our Sovereign to her estate and honour as she was of before with her realm, in all sorts."[2] This memorial, being signed by a great majority of the peers of Scotland, affords unquestionable evidence that, so far from having forfeited the affection and allegiance of those who had the best means of judging what her real conduct and principles were, Mary was loved and esteemed by them, and her absence regarded as a national misfortune. They also wrote to the King and Queen-mother of France, imploring them to exert their power, if their influence should prove unavailing, to procure the liberation of their Sovereign, who was unjustly detained in England, and to grant succours of men and money to replace her in her regal authority, of which she had, they said, "been deprived by a pack of wicked traitors."

Elizabeth deigned no reply to the memorial of the loyal Scotch peers, but sent a summons to the Earl of Moray to appear at York, accompanied by such of his coadjutors

[1] Mary to Elizabeth, August 27, 1568—Labanoff.

[2] Letter of the Scotch Nobles at Dumbarton to Queen Elizabeth, in favour of the Sovereign, August 24, 1568.

as he might think proper to select, in order to answer the charges that had been preferred against him by his Sovereign. Reluctant as Moray was to leave his work of vengeance in Scotland unfinished, he durst not disobey the peremptory mandate of the powerful dictatress, whose object was to compel him to bring forward in a tangible shape those defamatory accusations against Mary which had hitherto been confined to insinuations, and only disseminated in political libels. As the first step in this process, he prepared a commission in the name of the infant whom he entitled the King of Scotland, appointing himself, his confederate Morton, his brother-in-law Lindsay, the bravo of the faction, their profligate tool Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, and Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermline, as commissioners to represent the High and Mighty Prince, King James VI., at the approaching Conferences. To these were added, under the name of assistants, a subordinate bevy of the conspirators, well versed in all the subtleties of the law, and possessed of the peculiar talents requisite for converting facts into fables, namely, Lethington, Mary's perfidious Secretary of State; Moray's private secretary, the inventive John Wood; the false, ungrateful, but highly talented Buchanan; with those veteran pensioners of England, Henry Balnaves and James Makgill, and several clerks and notaries. Moray did not forget to propine his literary and legal assistants in this business with rich array at the public expense.[1] George Buchanan received goodly gear for the decoration of his outward man to the amount of £72, 17s. 6d. Henry Balnaves, though a Lord of Session, and one of the wealthiest civilians in Scotland, accepted suits of velvet and cloth to the tune of £231. John Wood, who was also a Lord of Session, was not left out in this liberal distribution; while Lethington, who, it appears, preferred money to mercery, received £200 in hard cash.[2]

[1] Treasury Accounts, August 27, 1567—Royal Records, General Register House, Edinburgh.

[2] Treasurer's Accounts, 27th of August, 1568—General Register House Edinburgh.

Elizabeth appointed her kinsman the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Sussex as her Commissioners, uniting with them, ostensibly on account of his knowledge of the Scotch language and Scotch affairs, but really because of his uncompromising hostility to the Scotch Queen, whom he had injured in her infancy too deeply to forgive, Sir Ralph Sadler, the creature of Cecil. When the rumour of this inimical appointment reached Mary, she wrote to Elizabeth, complaining "that her Ministers, with undue partiality to her rebels, had united with the two principal commissioners one who had at all times acted as her enemy."[1] She mentions no names, but of course alludes to her earliest foe, Sir Ralph Sadler, and earnestly implores the arbitress of her fate to treat her as her relation and friend according to her promise, and not to allow her to be crushed with such palpable injustice. "I have," continues she, "said what I had on my mind about it to your vice-chamberlain, and now I implore you not to allow me to perish for want of a harbour, for as a ship agitated by all the winds so am I, without knowing where to find a port, if, taking compassion of my long wanderings, you receive me not to a haven of safety. Judge if I have not need of prompt succour, exhausted as I am with such protracted struggles." In her postscript she entreats Elizabeth to procure by her intervention some amelioration of the rigorous confinement of her captive friends. "I beg also," adds she, "that you will prohibit the sale of the rest of my jewels, which the rebels have ordained in their Parliament, for you have promised that nothing should be done in it to my prejudice. I should be very glad if they were in safer custody, for they are not meat proper for traitors. Between you and me it would make little difference, and I should be rejoiced, if any of them happened to be to your taste, that you would accept them from me as offerings of my goodwill."[2] From this frank offer it is apparent that Mary was not aware of the base part Elizabeth had acted in purchasing her magnificent *parure* of pearls of Moray for a third of

[1] Mary to Elizabeth, Sept. 1, 1568—Labanoff. [2] Ibid.

their value. The parsimonious English Sovereign had after all been too precipitate in concluding her bargain with Moray's agent, Sir Nicholas Elphinstone, since she might have saved her 12,000 crowns, and had them for nothing as a present from the rightful owner.

Mary made her first essay in writing English in the form of a naïve little letter to Sir Francis Knollys, who had taken upon himself to be her instructor in that language. He was then absent from Bolton for a few days. Her letter is a great curiosity in regard to orthography; one or two sentences may serve as a specimen.

"It is sed Seterday my unfrinds wil be vth zou; y sey nething, bot trest weil. And ze send oni to zour wiff, ye may asur her sohu wald a bin weilcom to a pur strenger;"[1] which means, "It is said Saturday my unfriends will be with you. I say nothing, but trust well. If you send any to your wife, you may assure her she would have been welcome to a poor stranger." In the same droll style of orthography she tells Knollys that "she has sent him a little token to remember him of the good *hop* (hope) she has in him, and wishes him, if he can find a meet messenger, to bestow it on his wife rather than on any other." She concludes with this line "*Excus* my *ivel vreiin* this *furst tym*."

Lady Knollys, whom Mary was thus endeavouring to propitiate, was first cousin to Queen Elizabeth, and sister to Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, who had just been appointed Captain of Berwick. On his way from London thither, Hunsdon sent his eldest son, the handsome George Carey, to pay his duty to Sir Francis Knollys, as an excuse to get him presented slily to the royal captive at Bolton Castle, who, notwithstanding her dire reverse of fortune, being the heiress-presumptive of the realm, might be called to the throne at any hour by the uncertainty of Elizabeth's life, or the caprice of popular feeling. The engaging behaviour of Mary on this occasion is thus related by Hunsdon in a letter to Cecil: "I sent my son George to Bolton to my brother Knollys, of whose arrival

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 172.

the Scottish Queen was first advertised, and at his coming into the chamber received him very courteously, but told him 'she thought some uncourtesy in me that passing so nigh would not visit a poor stranger,' alleging it was along of some of her enemies who had *incensed* me of some evil against her, and praying me not to believe her enemies till I knew the truth."[1] Mary had just before Carey's visit been taken to task by Elizabeth on account of depredations committed by the Liddesdale borderers on the English frontiers, and had expressed her concern on the subject to Sir Francis Knollys, assuring him "that the most lawless aggressor was the young Laird of Cessford, who had always been of the rebel faction, therefore the blame could not rest with her;" adding, with sarcastic pathos, "I have willed them all to cease hostilities, but it is hard for me to rule thieves at present."[2]

During the conference with George Carey, instead of entering into anything like light or frivolous discourse, she alluded with queenly dignity to those complaints that had been made to her of the spoils and robberies committed on the Borders, praying him "to tell his father from her, that, if he found any of those outrages had been perpetrated by her followers, she wished him to punish them with greater severity than any others; and if he could not catch them, to send their names to her, and she would cause her friends to punish them, or to unite with his force for that purpose."

Lord Hunsdon was certainly well pleased with Mary's gracious demeanour to his son, and the pleasant messages sent to himself through him. It may be conjectured, withal, that some impression was made on the heart of the young man by the captive Queen, for scarcely seven weeks later, we find his kind uncle, Knollys, taking infinite pains to persuade Cecil to propose the said George Carey to her for a husband;[4] a plain proof that she was considered,

[1] Lord Hunsdon to Cecil, 4th Sept. 1568—State Paper MS.—Inedited Border Correspondence.

[2] Knollys to Cecil, August 16, 1568—Wright's Elizabeth.

[3] Hunsdon to Cecil, Sept. 4—Border Correspondence, inedited.

[4] Sir F. Knollys to Cecil, Bolton, Oct. 20—State Paper MS., inedited.

by those who had the opportunity of understanding the real state of the case, as free to be wooed and wedded as if no such person as Bothwell were in existence.

In anticipation of the approaching Conference at York, Mary wrote to the counsellor on whom she had most reliance for ability and eloquence, John Lesley Bishop of Ross, the historian, who had returned to Scotland, to repair to her without delay, in order to take upon him the management of her cause, she having appointed him as one of her Commissioners, together with the Lords Herries, Livingstone, and Boyd; Gavin Hamilton, commonly called the Abbot of Kilwinning, the secular possessor of the rich abbey-lands of that foundation; Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn of Skirling. Kilwinning arrived at Bolton Castle about the second week in September straight from the Court of England, where he had been soliciting a passport for his feudal chief, the Duke of Châtelherault, then in France, who was desirous of appearing at the approaching Conferences as one of the deputies of his oppressed Sovereign. Elizabeth, by delaying his passport, took care to prevent this loyal intention in the first instance, aware that the presence and support of the first Prince of the blood-royal of Scotland would produce a strong impression in Mary's favour. She had, however, said so much to Kilwinning of her friendly feelings towards Mary, her disbelief of the odious accusations of her disobedient subjects, and her intention of reinstating her in her regal estate, as to elicit the following grateful acknowledgments:—

"I have received a great consolation from your loving promises and discourse of me to the Abbot of Kilwinning, and since then by your letter, which assure me you give no credit to the reports that are made of me. I entreat you always to believe that my adversaries are evermore endeavouring by that means to injure me, having offended against me so much that they are ashamed to confess it, and make compensation for it, being sensible that they do not deserve pardon."[1]

In reply to the complaints Elizabeth had written to her on the subject of the outrages committed by the Borderers, she declares "that those disorders had been perpetrated, for

[1] September 15.

the most part, by the Laird of Cessford and others who had thrown off her authority. I entreat you," continues the captive Sovereign, "if those marauders, acting according to their wont, offend you, not to make me bear the punishment. Neither you nor I, even in the time of peace, were able to keep our frontiers from aggression; how then can I, situated as I now am, control and govern those who will not recognise my authority?"[1] "If a suborned robber," proceeds Mary, in bitter allusion to Cessford, "could prejudice my cause with you, I should be in a pitiable predicament." Again, reminding Elizabeth of her friendly professions, she adds: "When I was in prison before the battle, you promised to restore me; and now I have come, and confided myself entirely in your hands, can you do less? I think not, although your letters are civilly cold and ambiguous. I persuade myself that, if you did not wish to help me, you would not take upon you the trouble of managing my business, of which the issue, good or bad, will be attributed to you, whether as the restorer of a Queen or the reverse. I will say no more. Do what seems best to you, seeing the reliance I have in you. As to writing, the matter is too diffuse for letters. If there be anything in which I can serve you, I shall be ready, either after your deputies have arrived, or after you shall have reinstated me, according to your promise. Meanwhile, may God give me patience, and in His holy grace recommend me to yours. Myself and my people will be ready at the day appointed to await your resolution."[2]

When Lesley, Bishop of Ross, arrived at Bolton from Scotland, about the 18th of September, Mary was in a state of sanguine expectation as to the result of the approaching Conference at York, which she told him "was

[1] It will be remembered that young Cessford had been encouraged by the Earl of Bedford in resisting Mary's authority after murdering the Abbot of Kelso, and that it was from that seed of discord so many evils resulted to her, by rendering it necessary for her to undertake her judicial progress into Liddesdale, which has been so shamefully misrepresented by Buchanan. State Paper Correspondence, August 1566. Ibid., October 1566.

[2] Labanoff, vol. ii. pp. 177, 178, 179.

appointed to make the Earl of Moray and others, her disobedient subjects, answer before the Queen of England's Commissioners for their unjust proceedings against her, and that, after they should have acknowledged their offences, it was the Queen of England's pleasure that they should be forgiven and received into favour again, and so all differences reconciled." Lesley, being a person of much greater penetration and foresight than Lord Herries and the Abbot of Kilwinning, who had both been thoroughly deluded by Elizabeth's verbal promises and professions, expressed great concern at hearing Mary had fallen into the trap so artfully prepared for her. He told his royal mistress "that it would have been much better to have opened an amicable negotiation for composing the differences between herself and her disobedient subjects without English interference, and not to have entered into accusations which, however just, would lead to counter accusations, and that they would stick at nothing for their own justification and her defamation; for, after the lengths to which they had gone, it would be vain to expect that they would openly confess themselves to be traitors, and acknowledge her to be a good Sovereign."[1] To this Mary replied, "that she trusted the case was not as he apprehended, for she had understood the goodwill of the Duke of Norfolk to her by a message from his sister, Lady Scroope, which he had sent his confidential servant Lygon to Bolton to deliver to her;" adding, "that it was generally reported that a marriage was in hand between the Duke and her, and as he was at the head of the Commission, she thought Sussex, being his intimate friend, would be ruled by him, and that Sir Ralph Sadler would not withstand their advice. Besides this, she had many powerful friends in that country, as the Earl and Countess of Northumberland, the Earl and Countess of Westmoreland, the Nortons, and others."[2]

Mary overrated the influence of the timid, irresolute Norfolk, as much as she underrated the firmness and diplomatic ability of Sir Ralph Sadler, who, though inferior in

[1] Murdin, p. 52. Negotiations of Bishop Lesley—in Anderson, vol. iii.
[2] Ibid.

degree to the noble commissioners with whom he was associated, was the acting manager of the Conferences, for which important office he had been appointed on account of his uncompromising enmity to her. His intrigues for bringing Scotland under the yoke of England in the first year of Mary's life and reign have already been described.[1] His hostility against her had been decidedly shown when the question of recognising her as the heiress of England was mooted in the Parliament of 1563, on which occasion he had declared "that he would never consent to establish a Scot in succession to the Crown of this realm, and thereby to do so great an injury as to disinherit the next heir of our own nation;"[2] meaning, probably, Lady Katharine Gray. Then, in the discussions in the Privy Council[3] on the measures to be adopted with regard to Queen Mary, when she took refuge in England, he not only opposed any assistance being accorded to the hapless fugitive, but suggested the ungenerous policy of crushing her for ever by "supporting the title of her son, though it should cost Elizabeth 100,000 marks to set him fast in his throne, for that Mary ought to be regarded as a dangerous rival, whose pretended title to the crown of England might hereafter be advocated by the Kings of France and Spain, and supported by evil Papists at home, who, to set up a Popish kingdom again," he said, "would not mind having a murderess and adulteress to reign over them."[4] After which unjustifiable assumptions, he was not ashamed to address the following unchristian-like exhortation to his Sovereign: "As for the Queen of Scots, she is in your own hands; your Majesty may so use her as she shall not be able to hurt you; and to that end surely God hath delivered her into your hands, trusting that your Majesty will not neglect the benefit by God offered unto you, in the delivery of such an enemy into your hands."[5]

[1] See the Life of Mary of Lorraine, vol. ii., Lives of the Queens of Scotland, and Life of Mary Stuart, vol. iii., ibid.; and Sadler Papers, vol. i.

[2] Speech in Parliament—Sadler Papers, vol. ii. p. 557-566.

[3] Speech in Council, ibid., p. 562-569.

[4] Ibid. The speech, which is too long to be inserted as a whole, is from beginning to end a special plea against Mary, little to the honour of him by whom it was uttered.

[5] Ibid.

What honest heart but thrills with indignation at this profanation of the name of a God of justice and of mercy, in an exhortation for the perpetration of a crime of so black a dye?—an exhortation palpably suggested by motives of self-interest, for Sir Ralph Sadler was a considerable impropriator of church lands, and these, if Mary Stuart were permitted to survive Elizabeth, might be in jeopardy. Elizabeth had a more subtle game in view than immediate compliance with the base advice of the parvenu statesman, who had learned his code of ethics in the school of Cromwell and the council-chamber of the reckless tyrant her father. She knew the power of popular opinion, and that to shed the blood of the royal fugitive, who had sought refuge in her realm, would render her an object of horror to two-thirds of her subjects, and make the name of Mary Stuart a war-cry against her with every Sovereign in Europe. The slaughter of her hated rival would indeed have been an act of grace in comparison with the long series of cruelties she was preparing to inflict upon her. Of these, disgrace and humiliation would be, she was aware, the most intolerable to the high spirit of the illustrious victim whom she had deluded into the specious snare of consenting to submit the differences between herself and her rebel subjects to English arbitration. Now, inasmuch as arbitration implies a righteous decision to be made between parties at issue, by some impartial person or persons chosen for that purpose by mutual consent, the very fact of Elizabeth having appointed a man who had prejudged the cause against Mary by assuming that she was "a murderess and adulteress," and urging her destruction "as an acceptable service to God, who had delivered so dangerous a rival into her Majesty's hands for that purpose,"[1] proves what her intentions against Mary were, for in the event of Norfolk and Sussex deciding on opposite sides, he would have the power of giving the casting vote.

Bishop Lesley had gathered sufficient information from his spies in the English Council to be able to open Mary's eyes to the treacherous purposes intended against her. He

[1] See his Speech in Council—Sadler Papers, vol. ii. p. 564.

was her spiritual director withal, and possessed of all the talents and persuasive eloquence likely to counteract her growing inclination towards the worship of the Church of England, and the impression which, in the absence of any of her own ecclesiastics, the preaching of her English chaplain, and the reasoning of her Protestant friends and faithful followers of that persuasion, had made on her mind. In less than a week after his arrival at Bolton we find a strong revulsion of feeling on that subject had taken place, for she wrote to her royal sister-in-law, Elizabeth of Valois, Queen of Spain, "that she would rather die than forsake the faith in which they had been nurtured together."[1] That Princess had written to her several times in a tone of the most affectionate sympathy, to which Mary thus gratefully responds: "I cannot describe the pleasure your kind and comforting letters have given me in this season of calamity. They seemed to be sent by God for my consolation in the midst of the manifold troubles which surround me." She apologises for having been unable to reply, and gives a rapid outline of the misfortunes, the trials, and painful occupations of the last year and a half. "Don Guzman," the Spanish Ambassador, "can tell you," continues she, "how little means I have either of sending or writing to you with any security, for I am in the hands of those who are watching me so closely that the least thing might serve them as an excuse for treating me even worse than detaining me against my will. Had it not been for this, I had been long ago in France, but she (Queen Elizabeth) has refused point-blank to let me go there, and, whether I will or not, chooses to direct my affairs." In reference to the collusion for her defamation between the usurpers of her Government and the English Sovereign, Mary bitterly observes: "She would by all means burden me with the reproach of that of which I have been so unjustly accused, as you may see by a brief summary of all the intrigues practised against me ever since I was born, by these traitors to God and me."[2]

[1] Mary Stuart to the Queen of Spain, Sept. 24, 1568—Labanoff. [2] Ibid.

A marriage between one of her little daughters and Mary's son having been playfully proposed by the Queen of Spain soon after his birth, Mary in this letter reminds her of the circumstance, and expresses an ardent wish "that what was said in sport might be brought to pass in good earnest." She engages "that her son will be only too happy to accept whichever of the Princesses it may please their royal mother to bestow on him," and suggests that "such an alliance may be the means of re-establishing the ancient faith both in England and Scotland."[1] Fallacious notion! the evidence of history might have taught her that nations never return to a creed they have once shaken off.

The Conferences were opened at York on the 4th of October with imposing solemnity. The English Commissioners swore to proceed "sincerely and uprightly, not for affection sake, or any other worldly respect, to lean or adhere to one party more than the other, more than reason, equity, and truth would bear, and to be honest, godly, reasonable, just, and true."[2] The oath "to be honest, reasonable, just, and true," was also taken by Queen Mary's Commissioners, and by the Earl of Moray and his coadjutors, who affected to have received their commission from her baby-boy, whom they styled their Sovereign Lord the King of Scotland. The rival title of the infant puppet to his mother's throne was virtually acknowledged by the English Commissioners on the first day of meeting, by their requiring the Regent Moray, as his representative, to acknowledge the superiority of the Crown of England, by performing homage in his name for that of Scotland. Moray grew red, and wist not what to answer; but the sharp-witted Secretary Lethington extricated him from his dilemma with ready presence of mind, by saying, "that if the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, with all the other lands which the kings of Scotland held of old in England, were restored, the homage should gladly be made for them; but as for the realm of Scotland, it had always been independent, and freer than

[1] Mary Stuart to the Queen of Spain, Sept. 24, 1568—Labanoff.
[2] See the Oaths in Anderson and Goodall.

England had been when it paid St. Peter's penny to the Pope."[1]

Mary, whom no selfish considerations ever rendered forgetful of the honour of her realm and the dignity of the vocation to which it had pleased God to call her in the first week of her existence, directed her Commissioners to preface all proceedings by entering a protest in her name, "that her submitting the consideration of the causes of difference between her and her disobedient subjects to her dearest sister, the Queen of England, or her Commissioners, was in no way to prejudice either the independence of her realm, nor her personal dignity as a Sovereign, subject to no judge on earth, in respect of being a free Princess, having an imperial crown given her of God, and acknowledging no other superior, and that, therefore, neither she nor her posterity be prejudiced in their sovereignty thereby."[2] In answer to this, Elizabeth's Commissioners declared "that the protestation made to that effect by the Queen of Scots' Commissioners, was not in any way to be allowed to prejudice the rights which the Queen's Majesty of England and her predecessors have claimed and enjoyed as superiors of the realm of Scotland."[3] As no homage was demanded of Queen Mary's Commissioners, and they were in no case to resent the assumption of the English Commissioners, it was not disputed. Mary demanded that the promise of the English Queen to replace her on her throne, should appear in the powers granted to her Commissioners; and the Regent Moray required a confirmation of the assurance he had already privately received, that if Queen Mary were convicted of the crimes with which he was preparing to charge her, she should never be permitted to return to Scotland.[4] Mary's request was deceitfully evaded at the time, and the promises that had been given her to that effect shamelessly violated in the sequel.

The adjustment of the preliminary points occupied four days. On the 8th of October, Mary's Commissioners pre-

[1] Sir James Melville's Memoirs.
[2] Anderson, vol. iv. p. 49.
[3] Anderson. Lingard. Goodall. Ibid.

sented their royal mistress's complaint against the confederate Lords, Morton, Mar, and the others who had conspired against her authority, imprisoned her person in Lochleven Castle, seized her mint, coining instruments, and bullion, and crowned the Prince her son, then only thirteen months old;" also "that James Earl of Moray had taken upon himself the name of Regent, usurping thereby the supreme authority of the realm in the name of that infant; taking possession of the whole strengths, munitions, jewels, and patrimony of the Crown; and that when it had pleased God to relieve her from the strait thraldom in which she had been held there for eleven months, they, the Earls of Moray, Morton, and Mar, notwithstanding that she had given commission to the Earls of Argyll, Eglinton, and Rothes, to endeavour to effect a pacification for the sake of her loving subjects, had with their partakers beset her on her way to Dumbarton with an army, waged with her own silver, overthrew her power, slew sundry right honest men her true subjects, and took others prisoners, from whom they had extorted large sums of money by way of ransom; which undutiful proceedings had caused her to come into England, to require of the Queen her dearest sister and cousin, according to her promises of friendship and assistance, favour and support, that she might enjoy peaceably her realm according to God's calling; and that these her subjects might be caused to recognise their lawful obedience, reform to her Majesty and her obedient subjects the wrongs they have done, and live as good subjects under her."[1] Such an extension of the golden sceptre of mercy as is implied in the conclusion of the injured Sovereign's complaint, could scarcely have been expected by those who had so deeply injured and cruelly outraged her, both as Queen and woman. That it was Mary's intention to conciliate and win them to return to their duty, may be perceived by the brief and very temperate recital of her grievances, and her abstaining from detailing the gross insults and barbarous usage she had received at their hands.

[1] Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. Goodall's Appendix.

It had been agreed, as a settled rule, at the opening of the Conferences, that Queen Mary's complaints should be sent in writing to the English Commissioners, who, after reading and considering them, were to send copies of the same to the Earl of Moray and his colleagues, to receive in like manner Moray's replies, and transmit them to Queen Mary's deputies. This rule was immediately broken, by Moray and his colleagues demanding and obtaining a personal conference with the English Commissioners, and propounding several important and very unfair queries before replying to Mary's charges. He required to be assured, in the first place, "whether the Queen of England would sanction his accusing Mary of the murder of her husband, and support him in it? Whether the Commissioners had full power to declare her guilty or otherwise, according to the evidence he should produce; and if so, whether she might be delivered into his hands, or such order taken with her person in England that she would never trouble them again?"[1] The English Commissioners replied, "that they were to communicate everything they heard to the Queen their Sovereign, and give their judgment according to her instructions." This answer was most unsatisfactory to Moray and his confederates. They gave the English Commissioners to understand, "that unless positively assured of their Sovereign's intention to aid and maintain them in their proceedings, they would not proceed to any accusation." They gave in their reply to Queen Mary's complaint on the morrow, October 10, completely ignoring the foul charges they had registered against her in their Act of Council of the 4th of December 1567, and their Act of Parliament of the 15th of the same month,[2] by stating, "that the Earl of Bothwell having murdered the Queen's husband, and within three months after enterprised to ravish her person, led her as his captive to Dunbar, till he had divorced his wife and accomplished

[1] Letter of the English Commissioners to Queen Elizabeth, Oct. 9, 1568—Anderson, vol. ii.

[2] Anderson, vol. ii. p. 131. Ibid., p. 139.

a pretended marriage with her, to obtain the government of her realm and power over the Prince her son, and that the reason of their taking up arms was to free her from the bondage of that tyrant."[1]

How far this declaration of Mary's adversaries is compatible with the absurd chimeras of her resistless passion for Bothwell, her collusive abduction, and voluntary wedlock with that ill-favoured and coarse-mannered ruffian, let those who put their faith in historical documents, and eschew political libels, decide.

Moray and his colleagues proceeded to excuse their imprisonment of their Sovereign in Lochleven Castle, under the pretext "that it was necessary to sequestrate her person from Bothwell, because she had conceived so vehement an affection for him that she refused to leave him;" also their usurpation of the power of her realm, and their coronation of the infant Prince her son, by declaring "that she had voluntarily resigned the crown to him, and had constituted the Earl of Moray Regent to govern in his name, and that voluntarily; no compulsion, violence, or force, having been used or practised to move her thereto."[2]

The falsehood of this asseveration is too glaring to impose even on the most determined believer in the revolting and most improbable catalogue of crimes with which Mary Stuart has been stigmatised, by men so regardless of their solemn oaths "to deal truly and honestly in this cause," as to protest "that she resigned her regal office of her own free will, without compulsion,"—that declaration being attested by Lord Lindsay, too, the very man by whom her signature to the deeds of abdication and commissions of regency was extorted by ruffian menaces and threats of her life. How, then, can the slightest credit be attached to the depositions of witnesses who, by wilful and deliberate perjury have, according to the righteous laws of evidence, forfeited all title to belief?

The same day the above answer to their Sovereign's complaint was delivered to the English Commissioners, Moray's

[1] Reply of the Earl of Moray and the other Scotch Commissioners—Anderson, vol. iv. [2] Ibid.

secretary, Mr John Wood, wrote a confidential letter to their friend and confederate Cecil, representing to him "the necessity of a positive resolution or answer to their queries immediately, for their assurance, for that in consequence of its being delayed, the noblemen (Moray and his colleagues) who behoved to have accused the King their Sovereign's mother of the murder, had given in a very different answer. As oft as I have proponed this danger," continues the subtle lawyer, "now when it is at the pinch, I humbly beseech you, sir, to consider of the danger the delay may bring on so weighty and necessary a cause; and let not light ceremonies stay and utterly undo so godly and so good a work begun; for I dare assure you, that these things being resolved, that in furtherance of the rest of the cause the word of the Evangile shall be accomplished."[1]

This hypocritical assumption that the service of God would be advanced by the consummation of a work of darkness,—even the base intrigue between his master and the English premier for the defamation of his hapless Sovereign, and she a captive fugitive, is followed by further evidence of the guilty confederacy for that purpose,—a warning that, unless the conspirators were emboldened to produce their black budget, Mary would stand acquitted to the world.

"If they shall not take plain and clear resolution," continues Wood, "it may *mar all the cause*, for as I have oft said, I find men to be men, and the most part of the world to prefer sensible surety to conscience and honour both. Besides, my Lord Herries does not even here cease to augment sinister suspicion of the outfalling of the matter, and speaks plainly and amply to it. Last, John of Beton, at his last down-coming, brought six thousand crowns to Bolton; if they were angels they would fly abroad, and as they are not, I cannot but, knowing the nature of men and the liberality of the hand that holds them, be afraid of the harm they may do."

He concludes with an earnest exhortation, "that the sure remedy he has suggested may be hastily provided in so great a cause, and that the Queen's Majesty, Elizabeth, will be pleased to encourage fearful spirits."[2]

[1] Letter from Mr John Wood to Cecil; York, October 9, 1568—Laing's Appendix.

[2] Ibid., p. 132.

Moray and his coadjutors, not having patience to wait for Cecil's answer to this letter, deputed four of their assistants meetest for the business—namely, the Lord of Lethington, James Makgill the Clerk-Register of Parliament, George Buchanan, and Wood—to repair to the English Commissioners secretly, for the purpose of representing "that their answer had only been put in to occupy the time, the Regent and his colleagues not being minded to charge their dearest Sovereign's mother with the murder of her husband, till fully resolved of Queen Elizabeth's pleasure touching it, and her reply to the articles they had propounded in their last conference; but in the meanwhile they desired to exhibit such matter as they had to criminate her to them, not as Commissioners, but as private persons, to give them a better understanding of the business."[1] Pitiful subterfuge! What connection would Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler have had with the business as private persons? It was for the purpose of biassing their judgment as umpires in the cause that this underhand proceeding was adopted.

The deputies having undertaken the bold task of gainsaying all that Moray and his colleagues had deposed two days before, virtually exonerating Mary from blame, by showing that she was a captive when her marriage with Bothwell was accomplished, produced, in contradiction to that statement, the black budget that had been prepared for the purpose of endeavouring to make her appear the inciter of her husband's murder and the contriver of her own abduction. They proceeded to exhibit two contracts of marriage between the Queen and Bothwell. The first of these runs in her name, but is without date or witness, and, in terms no Sovereign would use, engages to "espouse James, Earl of Bothwell, in contradiction to relations, friends, or any others. God having taken her late husband, Henry Stuart, called Darnley, she is free, not being under the authority of either father or mother; and he, Bothwell, being equally free, she promises to accomplish with him the ceremonies requisite in marriage," &c. Now Mary, in all genuine documents,

[1] Letter of the English Commissioners to Queen Elizabeth, October 11, 1568. Anderson. Goodall.

speaks of her unfortunate consort as her late lord and husband, King Henry, and occasionally as her late husband, but as Darnley never in any instance. He was her next of kin, the father of her child, and had been one with herself; and stiff as she really was on points of royal etiquette, she would not have disparaged herself by describing him as a private person, for "Henry Stuart, called Darnley," might have been a groom. The other contract is dated Seton, April 7, 1567, and is asserted to have been written throughout by Lady Bothwell's brother, the Earl of Huntley, before either the acquittal of Bothwell or his divorce, but it is written in a law clerk's engrossing text, very different from Huntley's autograph. It bears, indeed, signatures affirmed to be those of the Queen and Bothwell, no very difficult hands to imitate in a court where we have legal evidence that forgery was not unfrequently practised.[1] It is morally certain that if these contracts had been in existence in December 1567, when the Church Assembly inquired the reason of the Queen's imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, they would have been produced by the Lords of Secret Council, in proof that it was for having been so forgetful of her duty, and the laws of God and her country, as to sign promises of marriage to the husband of another woman. Nor can there be a doubt that they would have

[1] Sir Robert Melville certifies the successful act of forgery performed by a leading member of the confederacy against Queen Mary, the highly eulogised Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, in counterfeiting the hand of the Regent Moray in a warrant for the delivery of the Secretary Lethington into his hands, after his arrest on being denounced as a principal in Darnley's murder. Examination of Robert Melville before Scotch Privy Council. Hopetoun MSS. Thomas Barrye, Unicorn Pursuivant, formerly an officer in Mary's Court, was convicted of forging the signature of the Regent Lennox to letters and charters for his own pecuniary advantage, for which offence he was sentenced, November 6, 1570, to be branded, and to lose his right hand. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials. Why should it not have been as easy to counterfeit Queen Mary's hand as those of Moray and Lennox? The like felonious art was practised in England, where it was punished far more severely; as an instance: "Henry Elks, Clerk, B.A. was hanged, bowelled, and quartered at Tyburne, June 18, 1585, for counterfeiting Queen Elizabeth's sign-manual for presentation to the parsonage of All-Saints, Hastings, in letters directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Commissary-General, that he might be instituted parson there. Stowe's Chronicle.

been laid before the Parliament, and mentioned in the "Act anent the Queen's detention,"[1] because, as assuming to be instruments drawn in her name, they must have been regarded as more worthy of attention than letters without dates, signatures, or superscriptions.[2]

In defiance of the fact that Queen Mary had already been branded by them and their fellow-conspirators with the foul charges of murder and adultery in the above act of Moray's first Parliament, his deputies, with hypocritical professions of their reluctance to touch the honour of their dearest Sovereign's mother, proceeded to produce the letters alleged to contain the proofs of the guilt they had thus imputed to her.

"Afterwards," report the Commissioners to Queen Elizabeth, "they showed unto us one horrible and long letter 'of her own hand,' as they say, containing foul matter, and abominable to be either thought of or written by a Prince, with divers foul ballads of her own hand, which letters, ballads, and other writings were closed in a little coffer of silver and gilt, heretofore given by her to Bothwell."[3]

The source whence this unverified assertion touching Mary's gift of the coffer to Bothwell was derived, was Buchanan's MS. libel on his royal benefactress.[4] Camden, writing with Cecil's private papers and memorandums before him, affirms "that the Earl of Moray gave the English

[1] Dec. 15, 1567. Keith. [2] Dec. 20—Acta Parliamentorum.

[3] Joint Letter of the Commissioners to Queen Elizabeth, Oct. 11, 1568.

[4] Afterwards published under the title of "Ane Detection of the doings of Marie Queen of Scots touching the murther of her husband, and her conspiracy, adultery, and pretended marriage with the Earl of Bothwell; and ane Defence of the *true Lords*, maintainers of the King's grace, action, and authority." Translated out of the Latin, by Thomas Wilson, Under-Secretary of State to Cecil; printed at St Andrews by Robert Leckprevik, under the express patronage of Queen Elizabeth, to whom it is dedicated. The manner in which that obscene and slanderous work was compounded between the traitors by whom Mary was dethroned, and their literary organ, Buchanan, is thus coolly explained in a paper put forth by Cecil's authority for the purpose of accrediting it. "The book itself, with the Oration of evidence, is written in Latin by a learned man of Scotland, Mr George Buchanan, one privy to the proceedings of the Lords of the King's Secret Council there . . The book was written by him, not as of himself, nor in his own name, but according to the instructions to him given by common conference of the Lords of the Privy Council of Scotland," (Moray,

Commissioners Buchanan's Detection to read at Westminster;"[1] but the quotations from it, both in this their letter to Queen Elizabeth, and Sadler's coarse note to his abstracts from the letters on the subject of Lady Reres,[2] proves that it was previously submitted to their attention at York, in order to poison their minds against the unfortunate Princess whose cause was under consideration.

The surprise expressed by Elizabeth's Commissioners regarding the letters exhibited by Moray's deputies, appears unaffected; but, as members of her Privy Council, they were well aware of the fact that they had been transmitted by him to her as far back as the preceding June, and that it was her policy to render the breach between Mary and the conspirators irreconcilable, by compelling them to take the odious task of her defamation on themselves. "In a paper here enclosed," continue these gentlemen in their official report, "we have noted to your Majesty the chief and special points of the said letters, 'written,' as they [*the conspirators*] say, 'with her own hand,' to the intent that it may please your Majesty to consider of them, so to judge whether the same be sufficient to convict her of the detestable crime of the murder of her husband, which in our opinions and consciences, *if* the said letters be written with her own hand, is very hard to avoid."[3]

Sir. Ralph Sadler, with Buchanan at his elbow to assist with hints and explanatory annotations, drew up a clever summary of the letters in English, cutting out the numerous contradictions, and compressing half a volume of theatrical verbiage into three or four terse pages of confessions of evil feelings and murderous purposes on the part of the alleged royal writer; but even this close abridgment, being

Morton, and their colleagues), "by him only for his learning penned, but by them the matter ministered, and that it was allowed and exhibited by them as matter that they have offered, and do continue in offering, to stand to and justify before our Sovereign Lady or her Highness's Commissioners in that behalf appointed when they were here for that purpose."

The French translation of this work, published in 1578 at Middelbourg, under the imposing title of Papiers de l'Estat sous Charles IX., is M. Mignet's great authority against Mary Stuart!

[1] Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, p. 117; Latin, p. 144.

[2] Sadler's State Papers.

[3] Anderson.

too prolix for probability, was recondensed within much narrower bounds in the paper sent with their report. The first rough draught remains among Sir Ralph Sadler's papers, while the official condensed abridgment may be seen in the State Paper Office, endorsed by the astute director of the game, Sir William Cecil: "Abstract of matters showed to the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners by the Scots, sent the 11th of October." It has the following descriptive heading by Sadler: "A brief note of the chief and principal points of the Queen of Scots' letters written to Bothwell, which may tend to her condemnation, for her consent and procurement of the murder of her husband, as far forth as we could by the reading gather."[1]

It is worthy of attention, that neither in the Commissioners' report of the letters produced by Lethington and his fellow-deputies from the gilt casket, nor yet in this paper of abstracts, is it said they were in French. There is not the slightest reason to suppose they were. Indeed, from a careful comparison of the more diffuse abstracts in the Sadler Papers,[2] from which these are abridged, with the previous paper endorsed by Cecil, "Notes drawn forth of the Queen's letters sent to the Earl of Bothwell,"[3] which are in broad Scotch, it will be seen that they are all derived from the same source, namely, the version in that dialect described by Moray as a translation, which he sent to Queen Elizabeth early in the preceding June by his worthy secretary, Mr John Wood.[4] It is needless to repeat that, had the letters been genuine, they would have been written in French, or what is far more probable, in cipher, which Mary had been accustomed from her twelfth year to employ in all secret correspondence of a delicate or dangerous character, and that true copies would have been transmitted to the learned English Queen, to whom a Scotch translation must

[1] Sadler Papers, edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. ii.
[2] Ibid., p. 337-340. [3] Goodall. Anderson.
[4] "Therefore," wrote Moray to Cecil, "since our servant Mr John Wood has the copies of the same letters translatit in our language, we would earnestly desire that the said copies may be considered by the judges that shall have the examination of the matter." Note of what the Earl of Moray and his Councillers delivered to Mr Middlemore, to be reported to the English Queen, June 22, 1568—State Paper Office MS.

have been less comprehensible than Mary's elegant French. Cecil's extracts, though they exceed those of Sadler in the eager malignity with which they have been chosen, are by no means so skilfully adapted to the object of being used as evidence, for they contain things too gross to impose on any person of common sense. No one who knows the heart of woman, or is at all conversant with human nature, could believe that if Mary had been, as pretended, in love with Bothwell, she would have depicted herself in colours so revolting. Besides, had she really meditated such a crime as the murder of her husband, she would have endeavoured to excuse it, by enlarging on his ingratitude, treachery, inebriate habits, and general misconduct, instead of dwelling on amiable traits never before discovered in his character—gentleness, submission, patience under rebuke and suffering, adoring fondness and implicit confidence in herself.

Cecil's extracts include the celebrated comparison, which the forger represents Mary as instituting between herself and Medea. What analogy could there be between Mary Stuart and that myth of classic lore? None, surely, that could induce her to waste time so precious to a Sovereign in scribbling pedantic folly about her to a rude wretch like Bothwell. But here we detect not only the malice, but the literary vanity of Master George Buchanan, who had translated the tragedy of Medea from the Greek, and could not resist the opportunity of calling attention to the subject of his labours, in a manner which, in these days, would be considered a very adroit puff. It may also be observed, that Buchanan cannot refrain from bestowing a passing tribute of praise on the amatory verses pretended to have been written by Mary and addressed to Bothwell. "The verses," he says, "were not inelegant." Brantôme, however, who understood the delicacies of French poetry somewhat better than any Scotchman could be expected to do, so far from coinciding in this modest commendation, speaks of these compositions "as very much beneath Mary's style, to which they have not the slightest resemblance," plainly attributing the production of them to Buchanan himself, whom he indignantly upbraids with the ungrateful return

he had made for all the benefits he had received from his Queen, both in France and Scotland, including the preservation of his life and recall from exile. "He had employed his fine learning better," observes Brantôme indignantly, "had he spoken more faithfully of her than that 'she was enamoured of Bothwell!' and making sonnets and imputing them to her. But those who are acquainted with her poetry and taste have always declared that they were not by her. Bothwell," he adds, "was the ugliest and awkwardest of men."

These verses, or "sonnets" as they are ignorantly styled by the conspirators, are in French rhymes, extending to upwards of a hundred and fifty lines, beginning, "*O dieux, ayez de moy compassion!*" and profess passionate devotion to some nameless person. They were intended to serve as corroborations of the supposititious letters, and were probably written by the same person, but certainly not by Mary. Witness these lines:—

> "Entre ses mains et en son plain pouvoir
> Je mets mon fils, mon honeur, et ma vie."
> In his hands, and in his full power,
> I put my son, my honour, and my life.[1]

Now, this was what Mary had not done; she had confided the keeping of the Prince her son to the Earl of Mar, and not to Bothwell; it is therefore morally impossible that she could have written anything so utterly devoid of truth, and belied herself to confirm the shameless fiction of her calumniators, "that they took up arms to preserve the innocent person of their native Prince forth of the hands of him that murdered his father."[2] Of these verses, then, obviously written to bolster up a falsehood so notorious, no more need be said; and here, perhaps, it may not be amiss to place before the reader a genuine sonnet by Mary Stuart, as affording a somewhat more correct picture of the mind of that much misrepresented Princess:—

[1] Goodall's Appendix, p. 45.

[2] The Answer of the Earl of Moray to the Queen's Accusation or Complaint, delivered to the English Commissioners, October 9. Goodall's Appendix, p. 145.

SONET PAR LA ROYNE D'ESCOSSE.

" L'ire de Dieu par le sang n'est appaise."

" The wrath of God the blood will not appease
Of bulls and goats upon his altars shed,
Nor clouds of fragrant incense upward spread.
He joyeth not in sacrifice like these.
Those, Lord, who would Thee in their offerings please,
Must come in faith, by hope immortal led,
With charity to man, and duteous tread
Thy paths, unmurmuring at thine high decrees.
This the oblation which is sweet to Thee:
A spirit tuned to prayer, and thoughts divine,
Meek and devout, in body chastely pure.
O Thou All-powerful! grant such grace to me,
That all these virtues in my heart may shine,
And to Thy glory evermore endure."[1]

It has been stated by one of Mary's modern French biographers,[2] following the late learned historian of Scotland,[3] " that Lethington, before the Conferences at York commenced, sent Sir Robert Melville to the Queen at Bolton, to show her copies of the letters which Moray intended to produce at York, and that she, after having carefully examined them, did not deny their authenticity, but requested Lethington to use his efforts to stay the rigorous accusations of Moray." This statement appears at first sight to tell against Mary, but on reference to the authority cited, viz., the examination of Lesley Bishop of Ross in the Tower, November 6, 1571,[4] it becomes apparent that the assertion " that she did not deny the authenticity of the letters" is the inference of those who have quoted a cunningly-devised fiction, which Cecil had no difficulty in introducing into his secretary's record of the so-called deposition of the captive prelate. The passage, which is as full of contradictions and confusion as falsehood could make it, is as follows :—

[1] Translated from the Original French. Printed in the Bannatyne Club Miscellany, vol. i. p. 348.

[2] Mignet, vol. ii. pp. 26, 27.

[3] Patrick Fraser Tytler, a writer of great research and impartiality, but whose health and mental powers unhappily sunk under his arduous task, which brought him prematurely to the grave.

[4] Murdin's State Papers, p. 52.

"In this mean time, *before* our passing to York, Robert Melville came to Bolton with letters sent by Lidington from Fastcastle to the Queen my mistress, to advertise her 'that the Erle of Murray was wholly bent to utter all he could against the Queen, and to that effect *had carried with him* all the letters he had to produce against the Queen for proof of the murther whereof he had recovered the copy, and had caused his wife to write them, which he sent the Queen, and that he had not come into England in the Earl of Murray's company unless it had been to do her service, and to travail for mitigation of these rigours intended, desiring to be certified by Robert Melville at York what service she would employ him into; for he should do the same diligently to her intent.' To this she answered by Robert Melville, 'that she wished him to stay these rigorous accusations, and, because he was well acquainted with the Duke of Norfolk, desired him to travail with the Duke in her favour, and that he would confer with the Bishop of Ross, by whom he should understand her whole mind particularly from time to time.'"

Now, the alleged bearer of the letters, Sir Robert Melville, certified to the Privy Council of Scotland, in the presence of Morton, one of the Commissioners, "that his visit to Queen Mary at Bolton Castle was *not* before, but *after* the Conference at York."[1] The ostensible object of his journey to Bolton was to obtain from the Queen a ticket of discharge for the articles of wearing apparel he had delivered to her when in Lochleven Castle. This he obtained, and its date (October 15)[2] supplies indisputable evidence as to the true time of his being with the Queen at Bolton Castle, and corroborates his testimony "that it was after the Conference at York was ended;"[3] which fact fully upsets the false but plausible story of "his having been sent by Lethington to communicate copies of the said letters to their royal mistress, with the friendly and dutiful offers of doing what he could to serve her," seeing that on the 11th, just four days previous to Melville's journey, Lethington had exhibited the pretended originals to the English Commissioners, and sworn point-blank "that they were written by her own hand to Bothwell."[4] Besides, it was not by Lethington, but by Moray, that Sir Robert Melville was sent to Bolton, for he affirms "that he rode from Berwick to York with the Earl of Moray, with whose privity and

[1] Hopetoun MSS. Examination of Sir R. Melville before the Lords of the Scotch Privy Council. [2] Labanoff, ii. 218. [3] Hopetoun MSS.
[4] Letter of the English Commissioners to Queen Elizabeth, York, October 11, 1568. Anderson. Goodall's Appendix.

full consent he proceeded to Bolton Castle to deal with the Queen, as if of his own head,[1] to persuade her to ratify the demission of her crown," which his subtle eloquence had been successfully exerted to prevail on her to sign at Lochleven when in fear of her life, and that he paid a second visit to her on the same errand. But not a syllable of any private commission from Lethington, or the slightest allusion to any of the circumstances mentioned in this pretended deposition of the Bishop of Ross, who, when a prisoner in the Tower, had no means of knowing what use was made of his name to the prejudice of his royal mistress.[2]

The facts prove that Lethington, instead of showing any indications of "the great affection for his royal mistress" which Mignet says "he retained for her at this period," exerted his mischievous talents to the utmost against her, as the leader of the deputation employed by Moray and Morton to prejudice the English Commissioners against her, by showing them the letters and other papers fabricated for her defamation, and instead of suggesting doubts of their authenticity, which he, as her secretary, might well have done, offered to swear "that they were written by her own hand."[3] Moreover, considering it necessary to allege some reason in support of

[1] Hopetoun MSS., General Register House, Edinburgh.

[2] In like manner, doubtless, have all the minutes of his examinations in the Tower been interpolated for political purposes. What was to prevent it? In proof how little reliance ought to be placed on the pretended revelations of this faithful servant of Mary Stuart, Dr Thomas Wilson, one of Cecil's under-secretaries, wrote to his patron "that the Bishop of Ross told him 'that the Queen his mistress was not fit for any husband; for, first, she poisoned her husband the French King, as he hath credibly understood; again, she consented to the murder of her late husband, the Lord Darnley; thirdly, she matched with the murderer, and brought him to the field to be murdered.'" This Dr Thomas Wilson was the author of the gross libel against Mary Queen of Scots, entitled "Ane Oration," being an imitation of the "Detection" by George Buchanan, which, with the assistance of Cecil, he translated from the original Latin into Scotch. In the same letter containing his shameless false witness of the Bishop, he thus alludes to the literary labour on which Cecil was employing him for Mary's defamation: "I do send to your honour enclosed as much as is translated into handsome Scotch, desiring you to send me 'Paris' closely sealed, and it shall not be known from whence it cometh. 8th of November 1571." By Paris, Wilson means the spurious confessions of Nicholas Hubert, published after his death. Murdin's State Papers, p. 57.

[3] Anderson, vol. iv. p. 62.

the incredible assertion that the Queen, instead of marrying Bothwell in compliance with the recommendation of her nobles, planned her own abduction, he affirmed "that she did so because the commission of an act of overt treason, such as the appearance of laying violent hands on her person, was the only pretence on which it was possible for her to grant Bothwell a pardon under the Great Seal for the murder of her husband, which would be included in the list of his offences." Yet Lethington was well aware that no pardon under the Great Seal had ever been granted by Mary to Bothwell, much less one including a remission for her husband's murder.

This bold falsehood, however, answered the purpose for which it was devised: it imposed on those who had no means of disproving it. The English Commissioners reported it in their letter to Queen Elizabeth, with this emphatic comment,—"A fit policy for a detestable fact:"[2] and it has passed current from that day to this, among superficial historians, as a proof of Mary's guilt; thus exemplifying the profligate maxim of the Dutch King's conscientious Secretary of State, "A good lie well believed answers a political purpose as well as if it were truth." Never was any Princess more successfully *be-lied* than Mary Stuart. A free press would have confounded the false tongues and pens of her political slanderers, and exposed the badness of a cause that resorted to means so base for support. But the press was in the hands of those whose interest it was to defame her.

Mary having gathered from the recital of the Act of Moray's first Parliament "anent her detention," that the only evidence her adversaries pretended to possess in support of their aspersions on her conduct consisted of letters, which they asserted were written by her, fearlessly instructed her Commissioners to challenge them to produce the originals of any papers they imputed to her. "In case," says she, "they allege they have any writings of mine which may infer presumptions against me in that cause, ye shall desire the principals

[1] Anderson, vol. iv. p. 62. [2] Ibid., vol. iv. p. 61.

to be produced, that I myself may have inspection thereof, and make answer thereto. For ye shall affirm, in my name, I never writ anything concerning that matter to any creature. And if such writings be, they are false and feigned, forged and invented by themselves only, to my dishonour and slander; and there are divers in Scotland, both men and women, that write the like manner of writing as well as myself, and principally such as are in company with themselves."[1] In this accusation she is supposed by contemporary historians to point at her perfidious secretary, Lethington, who had occasionally forged warrants and other papers bearing her signature, and whose wife, Mary Fleming, had learned to write of the same master as herself. Mary Beton, another of her four Maries, who had shared the same tuition, wrote a character so like hers that it was not easy to detect the difference. Randolph obtained the decipherment of Queen Mary's most private correspondence through the unsuspected treachery of this young woman; and it can scarcely be supposed she would have been more scrupulous if tempted to sign or copy papers that were intended to be imposed upon the world as the veritable penmanship of her royal mistress.

What credit the Duke of Norfolk attached to the documents, and the statements of the party by whom these letters were introduced to his attention, may be judged from the fact, that the same evening he, in a private conference with his friend the Earl of Northumberland, listened with apparent satisfaction to the suggestion of a marriage between himself and Mary, which that nobleman, not being aware of the terms on which the Duke had already established himself with the illustrious captive, came to propose to him.[2] As the President of the English Privy Council, Norfolk had been behind the scenes, and cognisant of the cruel practices which, from motives of political expediency, had been systematically adopted against the fair young

[1] Instructions of Mary Queen of Scots to her Commissioners, dated September 29, 1568; Bolton Castle. Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 202.

[2] Confession of the Earl of Northumberland. Memorials of the Northern Rebellion, by Sir Cuthbert Sharpe—Appendix.

northern Queen by his jealous Sovereign and her astute premier. He had himself found it necessary to assent, not only passively, but apparently approvingly, to proceedings which he must have found it difficult to reconcile to principles of moral justice. He was aware how inimical Darnley had rendered himself to Elizabeth by his marriage with Mary, and how formidable the union of their titles to the regal succession had rendered them to his Sovereign; also of the deadly debt of vengeance Darnley had provoked by his unpardonable intrigues with the Roman Catholic gentry of Yorkshire and Cornwall.[1] Neither could he have been ignorant of the secret encouragement that had been given by Cecil and Bedford to the conspiracy for the assassination of Mary's secretary in her presence, nor of the fact that Morton and the other banished assassins had entered into a murderous bond against her consort with their guilty confederates at Stirling, before a remission for their former crime was extorted from their reluctant Queen by Elizabeth's ambassador.[2] Under these circumstances, he might well acquit Mary of any foreknowledge of a tragedy in which she was one of the predestined victims, although he lacked the manly spirit which ought to have prompted him, as the premier peer of England, to have raised his voice against falsehood and injustice, and not merely to have acted as her clandestine lover, but to have taken the courageous part of champion and vindicator of oppressed and injured innocence.

Norfolk was at this period accounted the greatest subject in England. He was nearly related to Queen Elizabeth, being descended from the same great-grandfather, the victor of Flodden field. Having been educated by Foxe the Martyrologist, under whose tutelage he was placed by his aunt, the Duchess of Richmond, when the axe of the executioner deprived him in his tenth year of his father, the accomplished Earl of Surrey, he was a firm but liberal-minded Protestant. His portraits prove him to

[1] Examinations of the spy Rogers — State Paper Office MS., January 1566-1567.

[2] Archibald Douglas's Letter to Queen Mary—Robertson's Appendix.

have been a model of manly beauty. Though only two-and-thirty years of age, he had had three wives. The last of these shortlived Duchesses had scarcely been dead six months when he was tempted to offer the fourth reversion of his hand to the beautiful and unfortunate Scottish Queen, after his stolen visits to her at Carlisle. He had three years before, when a widower, been proposed to her for a consort by Queen Elizabeth, in a vain attempt to divert her from fulfilling her engagement with Darnley; but her affection had been too firmly fixed on her wayward cousin to allow her to swerve from him.

Thus Mary and Norfolk had met, not as strangers, but with the consciousness of what they might have been to each other if she had not mated herself to misery with one little worthy of her. Nothing could be more touching than her situation, when, after all her struggles against an adverse destiny, the heroic spirit with which she had borne up under trials such as few ladies of her age and quality had endured, she had rushed into the toils of her most powerful enemy, and was hopelessly encaged for life, unless some noble English paladin would take upon himself the chivalric enterprise of effecting her deliverance. Norfolk, dazzled by the possibility of winning a threefold diadem, and the loveliest Princess in the world, still in the full perfection of her charms, engaged to break her chains. She was willing to reward him with her hand, and engaged to wed her little son to his infant daughter, so that his descendants might reign as well as hers. How often Mary and Norfolk met during the ten days that intervened between her arrival at Carlisle and the superseding of the friendly warden, Sir Richard Lowther, by Lord Scroope and Sir Francis Knollys, is uncertain. That they met at all has been disputed; but the fact of Lowther being fined for having presumed to grant the Duke of Norfolk access to the Scottish Queen without an express order for that purpose, verifies the fact beyond the possibility of doubt.[1] After Mary's removal to Bolton Castle, an active correspondence was carried on

[1] Records of the Lowther Family. Additions to Collins's Peerage, by Sir Egerton Brydges. Burke's Peerage.

through the medium of the Duke's sister, Lady Scroope, Richard Lygon, a trusty gentleman in Norfolk's service, being the person usually employed in conveying the letters and tokens. There is no evidence of Norfolk visiting Mary during her sojourn at Bolton Castle; but it is difficult to believe that he refrained from availing himself of the facilities for that purpose which the friendly offices of his sister would have been sure to grant. His proceedings, however, at this period were characterised by an excess of caution; and in order to escape suspicion of the perilous game in which he was engaged, he masked his real feelings and convictions by conforming to the tone all who wished to preserve Elizabeth's favour adopted in speaking of the Scottish Queen. The dissimulating letter he writes to Cecil, Pembroke, and Leicester, October 12, betrays some jealousy of the persevering matrimonial suit which the Duke of Châtelherault, supported by the recommendation of the King of France, was making to Queen Mary in behalf of his second son, Lord John Hamilton, titular Abbot of Arbroath. Châtelherault had just arrived in London, and was desirous of coming to York to support Mary; but Cecil was determined to detain him in London, if he could not effect a coalition between him and the Regent's party. "As long," observes Norfolk, "as he dreams of a marriage to be had between this Queen and his son Lord Arbroath, I think you shall find that he will hearken to no end."[1]

The Duke of Châtelherault, the next in the line of the royal succession of Scotland, and his sons, always treated Mary's marriage with Bothwell as a nullity, and the calumnies of the conspirators with ineffable contempt. They had abundant means of knowing what her real conduct was.

[1] Anderson. Goodall.

MARY STUART.

CHAPTER XLV.

SUMMARY.

Queen Mary's anxiety to learn the proceedings of the Conference—Her conversation with Knollys—Project of Knollys to marry her to his wife's nephew, George Carey—Two of her Commissioners visit her at Bolton Castle—Her victorious reply to Moray's answer is delivered to the English Commissioners at York—Moray and his coadjutors silenced—The Duke of Norfolk reproaches Lethington for calumniating Queen Mary—Lethington beguiles him into private negotiations with the Regent for accomplishing the marriage with Queen Mary—Knollys' persevering efforts for marrying her to Carey—Favourable aspect of her cause—Elizabeth breaks up the Conference at York—Sends for deputies from the Commission to Hampton Court—Despatches Norfolk to the Borders—The Hamiltons plot Mary's deliverance from Bolton Castle—Her determination to abide the result of the investigation—Elizabeth's manifest partiality to Mary's rebels—She admits Moray to her presence—Mary writes to her. Commissioners to break up the Conference—Demands to be heard before Elizabeth, her nobles, and the foreign ambassadors—Measures adopted to prevent her escape—Knollys refuses to allow provender for her horses—She buys it herself—Preparations for a new Conference—Walsingham's practices to procure personal testimony against her—Norfolk's intrigues with Moray betrayed—Queen Elizabeth questions Norfolk about his projected marriage with Mary—His artful evasion—Second sessions of the Conference—Moray gives in his accusation of Queen Mary—The farce acted by his Secretary Wood on that occasion—Buffoonery of Mary's adversaries—Cecil's collusion with them—Elizabeth writes to comfort Mary—Protests her disbelief of the accusation—Strict watch of soldiers at Bolton Castle.

MARY eagerly asked Sir Francis Knollys, on his return to Bolton Castle, from a visit to the English Commissioners at York, how matters were proceeding there, not having as yet received the answer of her adversaries to the charges

exhibited against them by her Commissioners. She inquired "whether they would resort to their odious accusations against her, or seek a reconciliation, and what her good sister would do for her?" Knollys evasively replied, "that the English Commissioners had full powers to hear all the accusations and controversies, and therefore, however tedious the process might be, some decision might be expected to follow." "Well," said Mary, "my Commissioners shall not begin severely; but if the others fall to accusations, they shall be answered roundly, and to the full, and then we are past all reconciliation."[1]

Knollys expresses his opinion to Norfolk, "that if Mary's adversaries refrained from their odious accusations of her being implicated in her husband's murder, she might easily be won to a reconciliation; but he saw not how such a reconciliation might turn to the benefit of his own Sovereign."[2] Such a contingency was, he well knew, the thing she most desired to prevent. Mary, with no less magnanimity than political wisdom, was willing, provided she could do so consistently with honour, to overlook all the personal injuries she had received, and rather to owe her restoration to an amicable treaty with her rebel Lords, than to the interference of her powerful neighbour, at the degrading price of sacrificing the dearly-bought independence of Scotland, by acknowledging the supremacy of England, and admitting English garrisons into her strongholds. Thus preferring her country's good to vengeance, and in the hope of putting a stop to the horrors of civil war —not out of fear of the charges her adversaries might bring against her—she adopted a line of conduct that might encourage pacific overtures from them.

The powers Mary had given her Commissioners being very limited, they considered it necessary to have a personal conference with her before they replied to the answer Moray and his colleagues had sent in. Two of them obtained leave to proceed to Bolton Castle to communicate with her. "Upon Wednesday night late," writes Knollys to

[1] Letter from Sir F. Knollys to the Duke of Norfolk, October 15, 1568 —State Paper Office MS.

[2] Ibid.

the Duke of Norfolk, "hither came the Bishop of Ross and my Lord Boyd, her Commissioners; and yesterday in the forenoon she had learned of them that my Lord of Moray and his party had privily uttered to your Lordships, that are her Majesty's Commissioners, all they were able to allege against her, and how there would be a stay in the proceedings until your Lordships were advertised from the Queen's Majesty of answer of your letters already sent up in that behalf; and my Lord Scroope can tell you of divers other speeches she uttered unto us, insomuch as we marvelled how her Commissioners could come by such intelligences, whereof we pleaded ignorance, and said 'her advertisers deceived and abused her;' but she would not be persuaded."[1]

Queen Mary's Commissioners had, of course, obtained their information from Norfolk himself; but so entirely unconscious was Knollys, though residing in the same house with her and Lady Scroope, through whom the correspondence was carried on, of the secret engagement between Mary and him, that in this letter he unfolds to Norfolk a project of his own for a match between her and Lady Knollys' nephew, George Carey, he being as near in blood to Queen Elizabeth on the mother's side as she was on the father's, by which means he considered marriage with one of the Hamiltons or either of the French Princes might be avoided, in the event of her being restored to her throne. "But peradventure," he adds, "my Lord of Hunsdon would be offended by my marrying his son in this behalf, and therefore I pray your Grace to use the matter thereafter;"[2] meaning the proposal to come from Norfolk, who was cousin to Lord Hunsdon as well as to Queen Elizabeth, and was supposed to possess considerable influence with his royal mistress.

Mary's Commissioners, after remaining in private conference with her at Bolton two days, returned to York, and on the 16th of October gave in the reply she had instructed them to make to the allegations contained in the

[1] Letter from Sir F. Knollys to the Duke of Norfolk, October 15, 1568 —State Paper Office MS. [2] Ibid.

answer of the conspirators to her charges against them. "In respect to the murder of her late husband," she states, "no one could lament that tragedy more highly than herself; that she was minded, with the assistance of the Queen of England, to punish it most rigorously; and had she not been troubled in her authority, might have been able to do so herself ere now. That if Bothwell were the murderer of her late husband, it was never known to her, but the contrary, seeing that when he was indicted under suspicion of that crime, he had been tried and acquitted by an assize of his peers."[1]

Three of the rebel Commissioners, be it remembered, namely, Lord Lindsay, Henry Balnaves, and Sir James Makgill, were among the judges by whom Bothwell's acquittal was pronounced and recorded, "the same being approved and confirmed by the authority of Parliament and the unanimous votes of those who now preferred an accusation of partiality against her;" "they had recommended him to her in marriage," continues her reply, "as the fittest person in her whole realm, and solicited her to accomplish the same, as their own handwritings could testify; not one of them had objected to the marriage, nor come to the Queen, according to the duty of faithful subjects, to reveal to her that the Earl of Bothwell was the author of that crime, so that the first warning she had of it from them was by sound of trumpet, when they appeared in arms against her at Borthwick Castle. Neither had she 'preferred the impunity of the Earl of Bothwell to her own honour, by seeing him convoyed away at Carberry Hill,' as pretended by them in their answer to her complaint; for they, having sent the Laird of Grange to her with request that she would please to order the Earl of Bothwell to pass off the field, alleging him 'to be suspected of the said crime, until such time as the cause might be tried; and that if her Grace would pass to them, and use the counsel of her nobility, they would honour, serve, and obey her as their Sovereign;' and upon that promise, and for eschewing bloodshed, she consented to pass to them with the Laird of

[1] Anderson. Goodall's Appendix.

Grange, who at the same time took the Earl of Bothwell by the hand and 'bade him depart,' promising 'that no man should follow him;' and so, by their own consent, he passed away, whereas, if they had been minded to pursue him, they would not have omitted doing their diligence for that purpose, so that he might have been taken; but from the time they got her Majesty's person into their hands, they gave themselves no trouble for pursuit of him, so long as he was in the country near them, where he remained a considerable time. So now, as may appear manifest, it was not him they sought, but their own particular profit; so that it was not her Grace that preferred his impunity to her own honour, since it was their own pleasure that he should escape, not hers."

A brief recital of the Judas-like greeting of the Earl of Morton on her arrival in his camp, and the immediate violation of the conditions on which she had dismissed her army, follows, with the express denial of their allegation "that she had offered to leave the realm that she might possess the Earl of Bothwell,"[1]—as, indeed, the fact of her leaving him, on the promise of being reinstated in her regal authority, was sufficient proof. The shameless falsehood of their assertion "that she had voluntarily abdicated her crown, in consequence of being incapacitated by ill health from attending to her regal duties," is indignantly exposed; and Sir Robert Melville, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and the Laird of Lochleven are appealed to as witnesses of the constraint that had been put upon her will, and the rigour of her imprisonment at the time her signature to the demission of her crown and the commissions of regency was extorted from her by menaces and fear of death. The coronation of the Prince her son is also shown to be the illegal proceeding of a faction, and not the act of the nation.[2]

This statement, being based on facts of which Queen Mary was able to produce abundant evidence, was undeniable. Moray and his coadjutors ventured no reply. It is commonly alleged in apology for their silence, that

[1] The document is printed at length in Goodall's Appendix (p. 162-170), from Queen Mary's Register; also in Anderson, vol. iv. [2] Ibid.

they were waiting for Queen Elizabeth's instructions, who had placed them in a very awkward position by delaying to give them the positive assurances they had required as the necessary preliminary to their bringing forward openly the letters they had privily submitted to her consideration in the preceding June, and since the opening of the Conferences at York to her Commissioners. Yet what does this amount to, but an acknowledgment of their guilty intrigues with the English Sovereign against their own? Can there be more conclusive evidence of the badness of their cause than such practices as these? Well might the Duke of Norfolk observe in confidence to their associate Melville, that "he saw neither honest men nor wise men among them;"[1] a conviction which ought to have deterred him from entering into private dealings with them; but his anxiety to serve Mary, by effecting a reconciliation between her and them, prompted him to ask his old acquaintance Lethington, "how he and his colleagues could find it in their hearts to come before strangers to accuse the Queen their mistress, as though Englishmen were judges over the Princes of Scotland. It had rather," he added, "been their duty, as her subjects, to cover her imperfections, if she had had any." The smooth-tongued traitor protested, in reply, "that he had laboured to stay the accusation, and that now he would be glad of any help to hinder that shameful deliberation of the Regent, who had been pushed to it by a company of greedy rash counsellors, the most part of them his envyers and secret foes," and prayed the Duke "not to conceive so bad an opinion of them, but to draw the Regent apart, and listen to his explanations and the remedies he would propose."[2] Norfolk inquired "if the Regent could keep a secret?" Lethington assured him he could; and a private meeting was arranged to take place at night in the gallery of the house where Norfolk was lodged. The conversation commenced by Norfolk reminding Moray of their former friendship and familiarity, contracted between them at the siege of Leith. Moray protested that friendship should remain inviolate to his life's

[1] Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 206. [2] Ibid., p. 207.

end; and Norfolk, after exacting a promise of strict secresy, revealed his purpose of marriage with Queen Mary, assuring him "that he intended no disloyalty to his own Sovereign, but only to prevent the evils of civil war and an unsettled succession;" he therefore desired "that Queen Mary and her son, the natural heirs of the English crown, might not be disparaged by injurious accusations."[1] He also showed Moray "that Elizabeth was only using him and his coadjutors as her political tools in regard to the Conference; for she never intended to pronounce any positive opinion on the causes of difference between them and their Queen, but only to foment the quarrel and delay the time."

After two or three conferences, Moray told Norfolk, "that if he would obtain Queen Mary's favour for him, and her promise to confirm him in the Regency of Scotland, he would in nowise accuse her; but as he and Norfolk were of the same religion, they might live as sworn brothers, the one to rule England, and the other to rule Scotland, to the glory of God and the weal of both realms."[2] In the event of Queen Mary's marriage with Norfolk, she would of course reside in England, and govern Scotland by deputy,—a post Moray would have been glad to secure for himself, if unable to maintain his present usurpation.

The disgraceful position occupied by Moray and his coadjutors in the Commission, and the badness of their cause, is significantly intimated to their friend Cecil by the Earl of Sussex, who expresses his opinion, that "if they were to accuse their Queen of the murder, by producing the letters imputed to her, she would deny them, and accuse the most part of the murder, hardly to be denied; so, upon this trial of both sides," continues he, "her proofs will judicially fall best out, as it is thought."[3] It was, however, far from Elizabeth's intention to allow her royal kinswoman the privilege accorded by the righteous laws of England to every individual, however humble in degree—that of a fair

[1] Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 206. [2] Ibid.
[3] Letter from the Earl of Sussex to Cecil, quoted in Lodge, ii. 1, 2.

trial—lest her enemies should be proved perjured traitors, in which case she would have no pretext for maintaining them against their native Sovereign, or refusing to reinstate her, according to promise, in her government.

Mary Stuart, in her former proud position as the reigning Sovereign of Scotland, the mother of a fair young son, and regarded by the malcontent adherents of the Romish Church as the legitimate representative of Henry VII., could not be contemplated without natural feelings of uneasiness. Mary Stuart, bereaved of her only child, clouded with calumny, driven from her throne, a fugitive and a captive in England, might be looked down on with exultation and crushed at will. There were no feelings of romantic generosity in the composition of the last of the Tudors that could move so politic a Sovereign to forego the advantages Mary's adverse fortunes had thrown into her hands; yet this would be the result if she suffered the innocence of that unfortunate Princess to become manifest.

"I see not," observes Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, "how her Majesty can, with honour and safety to herself, detain this Queen, unless she shall be utterly disgraced to the world, and the contrary party be thoroughly maintained."[1] Elizabeth had from the first determined to pursue this line of conduct, but she proceeded with feline caution. Her first move was to break up the Conferences at York, which were progressing far too favourably for Mary. She wrote to her Commissioners to suspend proceedings, and send Sir Ralph Sadler to her, together with the Laird of Lethington and Sir James Makgill on the part of the Regent, the Abbot of Kilwinning and Lord Herries on that of Queen Mary; "and," continues she, "the more willingly to induce them of the Queen's part thereunto, who we think will most suspect the same, we would have you to use all good means whereby the Queen may understand that this our Conference is intended to do away the delay of time likely to ensue by sending to and fro by way of letters."[2]

[1] Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, October 20, 1568—State Paper MS.

[2] Letter from Queen Elizabeth to her Commissioners at York, October 26, 1568—State Paper Office MS.

A caution ominous to Mary follows: "In the dealing herein you shall do well to have good regard that none of the Queen of Scots' Commissioners may gather any doubt of any evil success of her cause, but that they may imagine this Conference of ours principally to be meant how her restitution may be devised with surety of the Prince her son, and the nobility that have adhered to him."[1]

When Sir Francis Knollys announced that his Sovereign Lady's pleasure was to suspend the Conferences till two of the Commissioners on either side should have repaired to her, with Sir Ralph Sadler, to explain matters more fully to herself, Mary was surprised, and appeared at first to think it strange, "but," said she, "I was always desirous that my good sister would hear the matters herself;"[2] adding, "that as she supposed the cause would now be decided at the Court, and not by order of her Majesty's Commissioners, she would send the rest of her own Commissioners home to Scotland." Knollys said "he did not think there would be more than a temporary suspension of the Conferences, after which all would proceed as before." Mary was inquisitive as to what was intended, asking "whether the Queen his mistress meant to make a reconciliation between her and her subjects?" Knollys replied "that he knew not what his Sovereign's intentions were, but was sure she would be glad to deal honourably with her Grace, to her relief and comfort." He next took occasion to sound whether Mary would be disposed to entertain a proposal of marriage from one of his Sovereign's near relatives on the mother's side, meaning his wife's nephew, George Carey. Now, as Norfolk was related in like degree to Elizabeth, and had been only three years and a half ago earnestly recommended by her to Queen Mary for a consort, she naturally supposed he must be the person alluded to, and so demeaned herself that Knollys reported to Cecil his opinion "that she would not greatly mislike it."[3] He then proceeded to open the project to his brother-in-law Lord Hunsdon, the

[1] Knollys to Cecil, Oct. 20, 1568—State Paper Office MS.
[2] Knollys to Cecil—from Bolton, the 20th of Oct. 1568, late in the night.
[3] Ibid.

father of the bridegroom he had selected for his royal charge, in a letter which certainly may be considered as unique in the records of match-making, for it commences with a requisition for a strong reinforcement of the guard at Bolton, to prevent her from escaping back into Scotland.

"I must needs desire your Lordship," writes he,[1] "to send me the residue of Captain Rede's band forthwith, for at present the number of Scots here are far greater than all our company, and besides that, if this Queen shall once perceive that the Queen's Majesty will deal plainly with her to her disgrace, then surely she will attempt any practice to escape away and from this house. She might pass into Scotland, and never come in town nor village; and as for the country, we look for no diligent rescue at their hands, but rather we fear they would laugh in their sleeves at us if she should escape."

After this testimony of the feelings of the men of all degrees in the northern counties towards Mary, Knollys thus cautiously unfolds his darling project for uniting her to Hunsdon's heir:—

"I am sure my Lord of Norfolk's Grace hath informed you of things preceding touching this Queen. As I have said to his Grace, and Mr Secretary also, I do see no way how her Majesty can reconcile this Queen and her subjects to her Majesty's commodity and safety, and to preserve my Lord Moray from his overthrow, and such as be her Majesty's friends in Scotland, and to avoid the marriage of the Hambletons with this Queen, and thereby to avoid the coming in thither of the French, to whom the Hambletons are utterly dedicate, unless it be by an English marriage; and because her Majesty is not easily drawn to allow of marriage in such case with her, I thought this Queen, to have her Majesty's favour, would not stick to marry one of her Majesty's near kinsmen of the mother's side, if she liked the person and quality of the man. And I assure you I suppose she would be well content to match in this case with my cousin, George Carey; or if her Majesty like not of an elder brother, I think she would not refuse one of his younger brethren, if her fancy could like of his person and other circumstances. But this letter in all respects is to be kept to yourself, until it may be seen whether her Majesty will deal favourably with her, or whether she will disgrace her."[2]

Can anything be clearer than the evidence afforded by this document, that, although it might suit the policy of Elizabeth to encourage Mary's cowardly foes to bring their odious accusations against their captive Sovereign, Mary had done nothing to disgrace herself? If Knollys had

[1] Sir F. Knollys to Lord Hunsdon, 27th Oct. 1568—inedited Border Correspondence, State Paper Office. [2] Ibid.

not been convinced that the letters imputed to Mary which he had just seen at York were gross fabrications, he never would have ventured to write thus to Lord Hunsdon, Carey's father, the most truly independent and high-spirited nobleman in the realm, and cousin-german to his Sovereign. But Knollys had been domesticated with Mary for the last five months, employed as a spy to note her words, her looks, her gestures, and though he framed his reports occasionally in the tone most acceptable to his employers, his private convictions that she was incapable of the crimes imputed to her by her calumniators are manifest. His project for her marriage to his nephew proved, as might have been anticipated, highly displeasing to his jealous Sovereign. Lord Hunsdon, being now Captain of Berwick, could, if disposed to favour Mary, have made a most important diversion in her favour by allowing her to re-enter her own realm, and preventing the return of Moray and his confederates. The angry tone of the communication addressed by Elizabeth to Hunsdon on the subject is evident from the following paragraph in his letter to Cecil:[1]—

"As I have had sundry occasions to think myself very much beholden unto you, so I have now just cause to think myself most bound to you for answering for me, as well as letting me know the designs of my enemies; for though they seem to come from York and Bolton, they spring from above. I thought my being so far off would a stopped mine enemies' mouths from practising against me, but I see well that envy and malice will leave no corners unsought to bring their devilish designs to pass. But God will confound them at last: as it hath pleased you most friendly to answer in my behalf that I am not privy to any such matter, so I assure you before God you have answered truly, for I am so far from any thought thereof, as I protest that, if the Queen's Majesty and both the other parties were agreed, I would not willingly consent thereto; and for my *sun*, I dare answer it is no part of his thoughts. I trust her Majesty will do neither my *sun* nor me that wrong to believe any such matter, either of his doing or my consenting, till we may answer for ourselves."[2]

This indignant denial of any previous knowledge of the affair by Lord Hunsdon was doubtless true as regarded himself; but when the visit of George Carey to the fair royal captive at Bolton Castle, and her gracious demeanour

[1] Lord Hunsdon to Cecil, Nov. 2, 1568 — State Paper Office MS., inedited Border Correspondence. [2] Ibid.

to him are remembered, it is difficult to believe that Knollys had not proceeded on his suggestion to propose a marriage between them, under colour of preventing Mary from condescending to the suit of her cousin the Duke of Châtelherault to wed one of his sons, by which alliance the English party in Scotland, in the event of her effecting her escape, would be annihilated. Elizabeth, not intending Mary to marry at all, took the proposal greatly amiss; and George Carey found it necessary to ignore any share he might have had in originating it, leaving his good uncle Knollys, like many another amiable match-maker, to bear the reproach of being a troublesome busy-body. The following characteristic letter of Lord Hunsdon is too curious to be omitted, especially as it is entirely new to the readers of Mary Stuart's biography. It is particularly worthy of observation that, so far from any slanderous imputations being thrown upon her, she is mentioned with the greatest respect, as one to whom it would be too great presumption for his *sun*, as he calls George, to aspire:—

LORD HUNSDON TO SIR W. CECIL.

5th November 1568.[1]

"After the despatch of my last letter of the 2d of this month, the same night I received a letter from my brother Knollys, by the which I perceive that the speech that is of the Queen of Scots and my *sun* proceeds from him, as ye shall see from the copy of his letter which I send herewith. And as he hath upon some fond imagination of his own head devised such a matter, without making me or my *sun* privy thereto, so for my part I think myself not well dealt with at his hand, and both I and my *sun* little beholden to him for it. When I would a matcht my *sun* with Lady Warwick, I dealt not with my Lord of Bedford till I had made her Majesty privy to it, and therefore I trust her Majesty will not conceive so great a want of discretion, or knowledge of my duty, as to deal for any marriage with such a *parsonage*, either for my *sun* or anybody else, or that I think my *sun* in any respect either meet or worthy for her. And so I beseech ye assure her Majesty from me that, God willing, she shall never see me so far overshoot myself in any matter; and so having nothing else to trouble ye withal at this time, I commit ye to God. From Kirkosald, the 5 of November.

"Your assured to command,

"H. HUNSDON.

"To the Right Honourable Sir Wyllyam Cycyll, Knyght,
Princypall Secretary to the Q. Mᵗᵗⁱᵉ."

[1] State Paper Office MS., inedited Border Correspondence.

Mary, who had been the consort of a King of France, and sought in marriage by the Sovereigns of Sweden and Denmark, the heir of Spain, and the brother of the Emperor, would probably have expressed herself far more indignantly of the presumption of Sir Francis Knollys in trying to bring about a marriage between her and his wife's nephew, an untitled English subject, whose only claims consisted in his relationship to Queen Elizabeth through the Boleyn blood, and his descent from the royal Plantagenets through his great-grandmother, Lady Elizabeth Howard, the mother of Anne Boleyn and Mary Boleyn, the latter being the mother of Lord Hunsdon and Lady Knollys.[1] But the attention of the royal captive being anxiously divided between the proceedings of the Commissioners, the persevering suit of the Duke of Châtelherault for his son, and her own secret engagement with Norfolk, she was utterly unconscious of the impertinent intrigues of her keeper for the disposal of her hand to the heir of Hunsdon.[2] The most curious feature in this mysterious underplot, for that purpose, is the fact that Norfolk, having been peremptorily commanded by Queen Elizabeth to quit York and repair to the Borders, to attend a special meeting of the Wardens and confer with Lord Hunsdon on their reports, was actually, as the dates of their letters prove, at Kirk-Oswald with him on the days Hunsdon received Cecil's communication and wrote his angry denial of any cognisance of the affair. The Lord of Arbroath, second son of the Duke of Châtelherault, recognised by Mary's party as a suitor for her hand, was at the same time endeavouring to raise a company of the Border chivalry,

[1] See Life of Anne Boleyn—Lives of the Queens of England, by Agnes Strickland. Library edition.

[2] Either from disappointment or regard to his own safety, George became soon afterwards very conspicuous for his enmity to the Queen of Scots. He took active part in the suppression of the Rising of the North, 1570; under Sussex made a bloody raid against Mary's partisans on the Scotch border, and sent a cartel to Lord Fleming for single combat, who then was aiding in holding out Dumbarton for Mary. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth after these exploits. He succeeded his father as Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and held the chief power in Richmond Palace the night of Elizabeth's death. He and his brother and sister, Lady Scroope, were very active in effecting the recognition of James I.

[3] State Paper MS., Nov. 2, Norfolk to Cecil—Border Correspondence, inedited.

for the purpose of making a bold attempt to carry her off from Bolton Castle.

Meanwhile, a select Privy Council had been holden at Hampton Court on the 30th of October, at which it was determined to demand of Moray's deputies, Lethington and Makgill, "what answer they could give to the charges brought against them in the reply of Queen Mary's Commissioners to their previous answer to her complaints; and also why they do forbear in their answer to charge the Queen with the murder, considering their party have always given it out to the world that she is guilty?"[1] engaging, "if they would be content to show sufficient matter to prove her guilty, that they should not be subject to any indignation, and should also be assured that her Majesty would never restore her to the Crown of Scotland, nor permit her to be restored, without such assurances as they should allow would be good for them, but would make manifest to the world what she thought of the cause."[2] The context is worthy of the attention of readers who have hitherto been misled by the declamations of one-sided writers against Mary's ingratitude for the generous treatment she received from Elizabeth.

"And because this manner of proceeding cannot be so secretly used, but the knowledge thereof will by some means come to the Queen of Scots, it is thought most necessary, afore all things, that she be circumspectly looked unto for doubt of escaping; joining therewith the advertisements out of France of her friends' reports secretly that it is determined how she should escape about this time, and also how she hath written to the Earls of Huntley and Argyll, and the rest of her friends, to draw towards the west Borders of England to receive her into her country, pretending outwardly that, by the Queen's Majesty's favour, she shall be speedily delivered, and therefore it is thought good that all preparations be hastened for her removing to Tutbury."

During the Conferences at York, a fruitless attempt had been made by the Regent Moray, through the agency of Mary's double-dealing Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Robert Melville, to induce her to ratify her forced abdication, by engaging, on condition of her doing so, to refrain from all accu-

[1] Minutes of Council, Oct. 30, 1568. Cecil's Papers, printed in Goodall's Appendix, p. 180. Guthrie's History of England, iii. 313. [2] Ibid.

sations, and to suppress the letters alluded to by him in the Act of Parliament "anent her detention," and to secure to her an income of ten thousand pounds a-year from the crown-lands of Scotland, provided she would be content to reside in England. Sir Robert Melville subsequently pretended that Mary was disposed to yield to this proposal;[1] but the whole tenor of her conduct during the Conference and her persevering demand of a public investigation, disproves the assertion of one who, from first to last, acted a treacherous part.

Mary's imprisonment at Bolton Castle, under the friendly wardship of Norfolk's brother-in-law Lord Scroope, had been gradually relaxed, and the number of her Scotch followers so greatly augmented, that it apparently depended upon her own pleasure to raise a revolt against the garrison; nor is it likely, with such a châtelaine as Lady Scroope to charm the guards, either by soporific draughts or persuasive words and promises, that much resistance would have been made; and without the precincts of the Castle, the whole country, as shown by Sir Francis Knollys' report to Hunsdon, was full of sympathising friends. What, then, it may be asked, deterred the intrepid spirit of the royal heroine from at least attempting an enterprise so much less difficult than her escape from Holyrood, when in the hands of the brutal murderers of Riccio, her descent from the lofty window in Borthwick Castle, or her flight from Lochleven Castle, aided only by a stripling of sixteen? The answer is simply this, her honour was dearer to her than liberty or empire. An investigation, which she had herself offered, for the purpose of removing the aspersions that had been thrown on her reputation by those who had plotted the murder of her husband and driven her from her throne, was pending, and she would not give room for her foes to taunt her with evading it by flight; in proof of which, the following passage from the noble letter written to her

[1] Melville's Examination — Hopetoun MSS., General Register House, Edinburgh.

by her Commissioners, the Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, may be cited:—[1]

"This last Tuesday, Maister Cecil and Sir Raff Saidler, amongst other purposes, shew unto us that my Lord Scroope and Mr Vice-Chamberlain (Knollys) had written to Court that they were surely advertised that there was certain horsemen taken up by the Abbot of Arbroath, to the number of three hundred, and some means making on the Border to convoy your Grace from Bolton, and therefore they behoved to give the better attendance to your keeping; to the which we answered, we knew assuredly ye would not depart suppose ye might, and if ye were in Carlisle, or on the Border side, and might depart without let, would not do the same before the end of this Conference."[2]

So far, therefore, from Mary shrinking from the investigation, she may be considered to have sacrificed both her throne and life to her courageous resolution to tarry and abide it, instead of availing herself of the tempting facilities for effecting her escape from Bolton Castle in the interim, her own strong sense of justice inclining her to believe that she would be confronted with her adversaries in the presence of Queen Elizabeth and her nobles, and allowed to speak for herself and cross-question her accusers. This flattering dream was dispelled by the arrival of the Laird of Riccarton at Bolton with letters from her Commissioners, communicating the startling intelligence that the Regent Moray, who had got leave, unknown to her, to accompany his two deputies to Hampton Court, had been admitted to private audiences by the royal umpire of the cause; that she appeared much set against her, and was preparing to remove her from her present agreeable abode to a stronger and more remote prison, to prevent her escape. Perceiving that nothing but evil was intended against her, and unable to control her indignation, she ordered the Laird of Newton, one of her most trusty riders, to make himself ready, for she would write by him to her Commissioners to break up the Commission immediately. This order being given in the presence of Sir Francis Knollys, he begged her "not to make a quarrel of it before a quarrel was offered to her." She treated his remonstrance with silent disdain, having conceived great

[1] From Kingston, Nov. 4, 1568—inedited State Paper MS.
[2] Knollys to Cecil, Nov. 21, 1568—State Paper Office MS.

displeasure against him in consequence of the use Cecil had made of his name in the conversation which Lord Herries and the Bishop of Ross had reported to her, namely, that he and Lord Scroope had informed him of the project for her escape. Knollys, who was perfectly innocent of having done so, was much surprised at her reproaches on the subject.[1] "She alleged unto me," writes he indignantly to Cecil, "that I had complained of her in advertising to the Court that she had caused the Abbot of Arbroath to levy 300 men to practise her escape from hence into Scotland. Whereunto I answered, 'that I had not so advertised the Court.' 'Yes,' saith she, 'my Lord Scroope and you have so advertised.' I answered, 'that my Lord Scroope had been from me, at the Borders, a good while, and what he had done in that behalf I could not tell; but I was sure I had not so advertised to the Court.' Whereupon she showed me a letter signed by my Lord Herries and the Bishop of Ross, averring the same upon your report to them. I answered again, 'that my Lord Herries and the Bishop had either mistaken or misrepresented you;' and therewith she offered me the copy of her letter, the which I send unto you herewith, to the end that you may justly save my credit in declaring to my Lord Herries that I have not lied unto this Queen in disavowing the advertisement thereof to the Court."[2]

But a person who is guilty of deliberate false-witness from motives of political expediency, rarely acknowledges it, and Cecil made no such *amende* as Knollys demanded. His object was to destroy the friendly and almost confiding feeling their domestication had created between Knollys and the captive Queen, by rendering him obnoxious to her as a spy and false reporter. Poor Knollys was between two fires,—in suspicion with his own Sovereign for having shown too much consideration for his royal charge, and despised by her as an oppressor and falsifier. To add to the difficulties of his position, he was almost without money to carry on the expenses of the establishment; and in con-

[1] Knollys to Cecil, Nov. 21—State Paper Office MS., inedited.
[2] Ibid., Nov. 10.

sequence of the scarcity and dearness of provision, both for horse and man, in danger of being starved out. He had ventured to represent to Cecil that it was impossible to maintain horses for the use of the Queen of Scots, and yet, if she were debarred from her daily equestrian exercise, "it would cause her death."[1]

His apprehensions of her effecting her escape, however, led him to adopt the precaution of having twelve soldiers mounted and armed with pistols, to accompany her and her ladies whenever they took an airing, to prevent them from riding farther or faster than was consistent with prison discipline. The additional expense of a groat a-day to the soldiers' pay was incurred by this arrangement; "and this," he said, "was the best and cheapest way he could invent for security, and that he thought of horsing twenty soldiers more at the same increase of wages,[2] with all which the weekly expenses would not exceed £47 per week, notwithstanding that Queen Mary's followers had much increased since the arrival of Lady Livingstone."[3] In reply to this communication, he received an intimation "that the Queen's Majesty was highly displeased with him for not reducing the number of Mary's Scottish followers and servants, and their horses, which her Majesty would have done by some good means, as she had before given order. And as for restraining the said Queen as a prisoner, as she hath and may percase allege, her Majesty wolde that he should do as he is appointed, and not be moved with others' speeches."[4]

In compliance with the stern injunctions of his Sovereign, Knollys refused to furnish provender for Mary's horses, supposing that she would then find it necessary to give them up. In this, however, he was greatly mistaken. She had received a supply of money from France, by the hands of her faithful equerry John Beton, with which she provided her horses with hay and corn on so liberal a scale that she appears to have actually overbid her keeper, and raised the

[1] Knollys to Cecil, November 2. Chalmers.
[2] Ibid., November 5—State Paper Office MS.
[3] Knollys to Cecil, November 5, 1568—State Paper Office MS., inedited.
[4] John Somer to Sir W. Cecil, November 8, 1568—State Paper MS., inedited.

price in that neighbourhood, for he complains to Cecil: "Amongst other wants here, our horse-meat grows marvellous scarce and dear; but this Queen will have it for her own horses whatsoever she pay, her delight to ride abroad is such; but our soldiers cannot endure the charges daily increasing upon them."

The above facts, which occurred between the suspension of the Conference at York and the issue of the new Commission by Elizabeth at Hampton Court, are new to the general reader, being derived from inedited documents, and of no slight value as affording authentic particulars of Mary's treatment and personal demeanour on the eve of that most interesting crisis, of which the leading events must now be related.

Unmoved by the dissuasive arguments of Sir Francis Knollys, Mary wrote to her Commissioners, "that since, contrary to all that had been promised, the Earl of Moray, being the principal of her rebels, had, with his confederates, been admitted to the presence of the Queen her sister, to calumniate her, while she, his Sovereign, was excluded and denied the liberty of being heard in her own defence, wherein manifest partiality had been used, she desired to break up the Conference, the more so as she knew the whole nobility of the realm were about to assemble, when the matter might be publicly discussed."[1] In the fearless spirit which the consciousness of innocence alone could have inspired, she added: "Therefore ye shall, afore our sister, her nobility, and the whole ambassadors of strange countries, desire in our name that we may be licensed to come in proper presence *afore them all*, to answer to that which may or can be proponed and alleged against us by the calumnies of our rebels."[2] If this request were not granted, she enjoined them "to decline further proceedings, take their leave, and depart the place without delay." In the same letter, she complained "that

[1] Letter of Queen Mary to her Commissioners at Hampton Court, November 22, 1568—Cotton. Lib., Brit. Mus.; Titius, C. 12. Printed in Labanoff and Goodall's Appendix. [2] Ibid.

when she had vanquished her rebels in the Conference at York, and expected a decision in her favour, the proceedings were suddenly stopped, and removed to such a distance as almost precluded her from exchanging communications with her Commissioners."[1] The first evil effect of this arrangement was, that before her Commissioners could receive her instructions not to renew the Conference, they had been beguiled into taking their oaths to act in the new Commission issued by Elizabeth for a second session of the Conference, to be holden at Westminster, and were as irrevocably entangled in the proceedings as parties who have unwittingly been led into a Chancery-suit. Previously, however, to the opening of the new Commission, they had obtained audience of Queen Elizabeth, and, being fully aware of the mind of their royal mistress, and supported by the presence of the Duke of Châtelherault, formally demanded, "that since the Earl of Moray and others, his adherents, had been admitted to calumniate their Sovereign's honour, licence should therefore be granted to their Sovereign to come in proper person to the presence of the Queen and the nobility of England, there to declare her innocence of the false invented calumnies of her rebels and disobedient subjects, since equity and reason required the same, she being a free Princess, who had come into this realm on the trust and good confidence she had in her good sister, and nearest *cousiness* in the world."[2] Elizabeth evasively replied, "that she would not take upon herself to be judge, nor yet to prejudice their Sovereign's honour in no sort, nor to proceed judicially. But as to their Sovereign's presence, she could not goodly admit the same until her causes were tried and ended."

Elizabeth had not only changed the place of the Conference, but she had completely altered the plan and nature of the arrangement from its original purpose, her object being to establish her supremacy over Scotland, by the conversion of the English Commission into a criminal court, in which the Earl of Moray and his coadjutors, acting in the name of Mary's infant son, were to be encouraged to charge their

[1] Goodall's Appendix, p. 189. [2] Ibid.

captive Sovereign with the crime of husband-murder; and if she could be induced to acknowledge such jurisdiction, by entering upon her defence under the quixotic idea of clearing her reputation and proving the falsehood of her accusers, then was she to be brought to a mock trial, and sentence of death to be passed upon her. The dangerous position in which Mary was considered to stand by the advocates for her destruction, is thus explained to his own Court by the French Ambassador: "There are some in this realm who pretend to show that the Queen of Scotland is lawfully detained a prisoner by the Queen of England, for having entered into her country without passport or leave, to the prejudice of the treaty between the two realms, and being thus come into her power, that the Queen of England has authority and jurisdiction over her. It is thus that the Earl and Countess of Lennox reason, who every day are on their knees, demanding justice for the violence which they pretend she committed on the late King of Scotland her husband, their son. The said Lennoxes are English, as was their son; and although he had become a Sovereign Prince, and was exalted to the same royal dignity as the Queen of England, she never lost her right of pre-eminence over him; and the Queen of Scotland was brought into the same condition as himself, by having become his wife, and, as such, an English subject, amenable to the laws of England."[1]

It is not generally known that Lennox was at York during the Conference, not merely watching the event, but doing his utmost to create prejudice against his royal daughter-in-law and those engaged in her service. Evidence of the underhand league between him and Cecil, for her destruction, may be traced in the letter written by him on the 9th of October to that minister, thanking him "for his goodwill and desire for the punishment of the persons he (Lennox) suspects of being the authors of the death of the King his son, and requesting him to order the arrest of the Laird of Riccarton, one of the messengers employed by

[1] Depêches de La Mothe Fénélon, vol. i. p. 18.

Mary in carrying letters to Queen Elizabeth and her friends in Scotland." [1]

With the three original Commissioners Elizabeth had now associated her Lord Chancellor, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Earls of Arundel and Leicester, her great-uncle Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Sir William Cecil, the latter, the friend and confederate of Moray, having the whole management of the business, as indeed the surviving records, interlined, garbled and altered by his cunning hand, bear indubitable evidence. The following confidential communication from his colleague Walsingham, recently discovered in the State Paper Office, and which is for the first time placed before the historical reader, is a document of no slight importance, convicting both of being active members of the conspiracy against the life and honour of Mary Stuart.

MR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO SIR W. CECIL.

"*20th of November* 1568.

"SIR,—I was willed by my friend to advertise you, that if for the discovery of the Q. of Scots' consent to the murder of her husband there lack sufficient *prooves*, he is able (if it shall *please* you to *use* him) to discover certain that should have been employed in the said murder, who are here to be produced. Thus most humbly taking my leave of your honor, I beseech God to direct all your doings to his glory.

"From London, the 20th of November 1568. Your honor's always to command, "FRA. WALSINGHAM.

"To the Right Honourable Sir Wyllyam Cycell,
Pryncipall Secretary to her Matie
at the *Coorte*." [2]

It must be evident to every person of common sense, that if Mary had been guilty of the crimes her foes desired to burden her with, a host of witnesses might have been brought from Scotland, whose depositions would have substantiated her alleged culpability, without the slightest need for the English Secretaries of State employing their secret-service-men to provide them in London. And albeit the Regent Moray and his Lord Chancellor, Morton, had been in as great a hurry to hang Bothwell's servants for the murder, as Macbeth to slay the guards on whom he charged the regicide of the gracious Duncan, they had still

[1] State Paper Office MS., inedited. [2] Ibid.

that notable prisoner in their dungeons, Nicholas Hubert, *alias* French Paris, on the credit of whose posthumous confessions, Robertson, Malcolm Laing, and M. Mignet, have grounded their assertions of the authenticity of the silver-casket budget and Mary's guilt. Why then was he not brought forward to depose, in the presence of the English Commissioners, those things which were nine months later published in his name, but not till after he had been hanged? What witnesses could Walsingham's friend have provided whose testimony would have been so important as that of the Regent Moray's friend Sir James Balfour, by whom the bond for the murder was drawn, and who supplied a large portion of the powder for blowing up the house of Kirk-of-Field; or his brother Robert Balfour, the owner of the house, and his cellarer Bonkle; or the Chancellor Morton's friend Archibald Douglas, and his servants Binning and Gairner, who, fourteen years later, confessed bringing a barrel of gunpowder to the house of Kirk-of-Field, and that they were at the deed-doing?[1] Last, not least, Morton himself, who subsequently declared to the minister Brand and others, "that he had foreknowledge of the murder from Bothwell's lips, and that the Queen was the doer thereof."[2] Can any one suppose, if this had been true, that he would have hesitated to depose to that effect before the English Commissioners in self-defence, she having denounced him and Lethington as the principal contrivers of her husband's death? That he stood on no scruples of delicacy in regard to her, his barbarous conduct after her surrender at Carberry Hill proves. Besides, he had sworn at the opening of the Conference at York to deal openly, truly, and godly, and declare everything he knew. Why should he have withheld knowledge so important to the cause of himself and his confederates? What need for Walsingham to deal with his nameless friend for procuring nameless men of straw[3]

[1] Arnott's Criminal Trials.

[2] See Bannatyne's Memorials—also Arnott's Criminal Trials.

[3] The expression "men of straw" became proverbial for false witnesses in the reign of Elizabeth, from the well-known fact that certain sharp-witted rogues were accustomed daily to walk in the cloisters of old St Paul's

as witnesses of Mary's consent to her husband's murder, if the Lord Chancellor of Scotland were able to testify that Bothwell himself had assured him that it was her desire it should be done? But Morton's silence on this important point, at a time when he and his confederates were absolutely taunted by Cecil and Elizabeth with not bringing forward such matters as they had to produce against their Queen, proves that he had nothing of the sort to disclose.

The reason alleged for Moray's backwardness in bringing the odious accusations against his royal sister, namely, the secret engagements between him and Norfolk for his continuing to exercise the government of Scotland in the event of her marriage, had no influence with Morton; on the contrary, it served as a provocative for him to exert his utmost malice against her, as we find from the testimony of Sir James Melville, the friend and confidant of Moray.

"The Regent being arrived at the Court of England, which was for the time at Hampton Court, was daily pressed to give in his accusation, specially by them that were about him, who all thought it strange that he was so loth to do it, until they were advertised by one of the Lords of the Queen's side of all that was passed between the Regent and the Duke of Norfolk. For the Duke had sent and advertised our Queen by a secret moyen, and she again *shew* it to one of her most familiars, who advertised the Earl of Morton, who took it in very evil part that the Regent had not made him privy, nor none of that society, how far he had dealt and promised unto the Duke of Norfolk. But first, or them of his own company would seem to understand anything of that matter, they laid their heads together and caused Master John Wood to inform the Secretary Cecil, and willed him to press forward the accusa-

Cathedral, with straws stuck in their shoes, intimating by that badge that they were ready to act as witnesses, by swearing to any statement on which testimony might be required. Had it pleased Mr Secretary Cecil "*to use*" the convenient agent who so obligingly offered to procure persons vaguely described by Walsingham in his confidential letter "as certain who should have been employed in the said murder" as witnesses against Mary, they would, of course, have been provided with proper names and plausible stories; but as he was too wise to commit himself by resorting to the expedient suggested by his colleague, they remain unrecorded mysteries.

tion, wherein he was earnest enough. They again left nothing undone for their part to the same, putting him in hope that the Queen would give her hand-write and seal to convict in case he accused; and some of the finest of them persuaded him that she would never give her hand-write nor seal, but put him to a strait to see what he would do in case he obtained his desire. And Master John Wood said, 'that it was meet to carry in all the writes to the council-house, and he should keep the accusation in his bosom, and should not deliver it without all conditions were also kept to him.'"[1]

Meantime Norfolk, having despatched his business on the Borders, which was intended to keep him out of the way, hastened to the Court, where he met with a very ungracious reception from Elizabeth. The cause of this being explained to him, he endeavoured to persuade her that the reports of a purpose of matrimony between the Scottish Queen and himself were devised by his enemies for his ruin. "But," asked Elizabeth, with that profound art which might have won a frank affirmative from a more manly character, "would you not marry the Scottish Queen if you knew that it would tend to the tranquillity of the realm and the safety of my person?" Norfolk perceived the snare and evaded it with equal subtlety, but at the expense of his honour as a gentleman, and his loyalty to the calumniated Princess to whom his faith was plighted. "Madam," said he, "that woman shall never be my wife who has been your competitor, and whose husband cannot sleep in security on his pillow."[2] By this artifice he not only saved himself from the peril of being consigned to a prison lodging in the Tower, but so completely lulled the suspicions of his jealous Sovereign by gratifying her malice, that he was reappointed to the presidency of the Conference. Not thus should the man who had the honour of being the son of the chivalric Surrey, and the affianced husband of Mary Stuart, have sacrificed truth to expe-

[1] Sir James Melville's Memoirs, Bannatyne edition.

[2] Memorials of the Howard Family, by the late Henry Howard, Esq., of Corby Castle. Haynes' State Papers.

diency. But Norfolk was devoid of the noble independence of character which should dignify a man. He had been intimidated in his boyhood by the execution of his accomplished father on the most frivolous pretext. The terrors of the axe, under which so many of his ancestors on both sides had fallen, paralysed all the high and generous energies that might, under other circumstances, have rendered Norfolk the champion, the vindicator and deliverer, of the illustrious bride to whom he aspired.

The second sessions of the Conference opened in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, November 26, 1568, with the like ceremony of the Commissioners on both sides swearing "to be honest, godly, reasonable, just, and true;" and the English Commissioners, "to proceed in the treaty of this weighty cause sincerely and uprightly, and not for affection, value, or on any other worldly respect, to lean to or adhere more to one party than the other." The Earl of Moray and his coadjutors were then encouraged to bring their accusation against Queen Mary, by the announcement of Queen Elizabeth's reply to the query they had propounded at York:—[1]

"In case she be found guilty, we desire to be resolved before-hand for our sureties, whether the Queen our Sovereign's mother shall be delivered in our hands, or such order put to her person in England as the King and we shall be assured to be safe from all danger that may ensue upon her liberty in time coming?"

The answer:—

"If the Queen of Scots shall be justly proved and found guilty of the murder of her husband, which were much to be lamented, she shall be either delivered into your hands upon good and sufficient sureties and assurances for the safety of her life and good usage of her, or else she shall continue kept in England upon the reasonable charges of the Crown of Scotland, in such sort as neither the Prince her son, nor you the Earl of Moray, nor any other, for holding part or maintaining the said Prince, shall be in any danger by her liberty."

Replies equally satisfactory being vouchsafed to their other demands, Moray and his colleagues entered into a long profession of "their reluctance to touch the honour of their Sovereign Lord's mother," declaring "that the chief cause that moved them to this revelation was, the fear of

[1] Anderson, vol. iv. Goodall's Appendix.

alienating the Queen of England's mind from them, for lack of due information on the subject, and inclining her to call the justice of their cause in question; and so if she should disallow of their proceedings, they would be left destitute of her aid, at whose hands they principally looked to receive comfort in all time of danger, being the Prince of Christendom who has the greatest interest to prosecute the punishment of that murder, in so far as the King in whose person it was perpetrated had the honour to be so near of her Majesty's blood. Besides that, he was born her subject, whereby, by God's ordinance, she is bound to crave his blood of the murderers."[1] After this impious attempt to pervert God's laws into a warrant for a foreign Sovereign to slaughter their own, to whom they had offered injuries and insults unparalleled in the darkest ages of Scottish history, they boasted of "their moderation, and the affection they bore to her person, confessing their obligations to her for the benefits they had received at her hands, for which cause," they falsely protested, "they had hitherto avoided spotting her honour, and came not willingly there to accuse her of so odious a crime, but were enforced to it by her own pressing." They then gave in what they termed their *Eik* or addition to their previous answer to her complaint at the beginning of the Conference at York, wherein they had declared "Bothwell was the murderer of the late King Henry, lawful husband of Queen Mary, the mother of their Sovereign Lord the King;" to which they now added, after seven weeks' delay, the supplementary declaration, no more than they had already stated in their Act of Parliament,[2] "that she was the contriver and inciter of the said murder, principal fortifier of the murderer, intending also the destruction of the Prince her son."[3]

The fact of the delivery of this accusation, with their hypocritical grimace of reluctance to touch the honour of their Sovereign's mother, is briefly recorded in the Journal of the proceedings of November 26, 1568, the first day of the opening of the Conference in the Painted Chamber at Westminster. The manner in which it was done will be

[1] Anderson, vol. iv. Goodall's Appendix. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

best related in the words of one who was behind the scenes as an assistant at the Conference, namely, Sir James Melville, the friend, the confidant, and apologist of Moray.

"So soon as he [Moray] with his council were within the Council-house, the Duke of Norfolk asked for the accusation. The Regent desired again 'the assurance of the conviction by write and seal.' It was answered again, 'that the Queen's Majesty's word, being a true Princess, would be sufficient.' Then all the Council cried out, 'Would he mistrust the Queen, who had given such proof of her friendship to Scotland?' The Regent's Council cried out also on that same manner. Then the Secretary Cecil asked 'if they had the accusation there?' 'Yes,' said Master John Wood (with that he plucks it out of his bosom), 'but I will not deliver it until Her Majesty's hand-write and seal be delivered to my Lord!' Then the Bishop of Orkney *cleaks* [snatches] the write out of Master John Wood's hands. 'Let me have it, I sall present it,' said he. Master John run after him as if he would have had it again, or *riven* [torn] his clothes. Forward past the Bishop to the council-table and gave in the accusation. Then said to him Lord William Howard, chamberlain, 'Well done Bishop Turpy [Turpin], thou art the frankest fellow among them! none of them will make thy loup good,' scorning him for his louping out of the Laird of Grange's ship. Master Henry Balnaves alone made resistance, and called for the Secretary Lethington, who tarried without the Council-house; but as soon as Master Henry Balnaves had called for him, he came in and rounded in the Regent's ear, that he had shamed himself and put his life in peril by the loss of so good a friend, and his reputation for ever.' The Regent, who had been brought by his facility to break with the Duke of Norfolk, repented him again so soon as Lethington had shown him the danger, and desired the accusation to be rendered to him again, alleging 'that he had some more to add to it.' But they said, 'that they would hold that which they had, and were ready to receive any other addition when he pleased to give it in.' The Duke of Norfolk had enough ado to keep his

countenance. Master John Wood winked upon the Secretary Cecil, who smiled again upon him. The rest of the Regent's company were laughing each upon other."[1]

Such, then, was the disgusting scene of buffoonery acted on this occasion between the professedly reluctant and conscientious accusers of their captive Sovereign, and their confederates in the English Commission! A scene full of life-like character, and which bears the unmistakable marks of having been rapidly and briefly jotted down on the spot by the unsuspected "chield who was among them taking notes." What a subject for an historical painter does not his graphic sketch present—the agitation and ill-suppressed indignation of the noble president of the Conference, Norfolk; the downcast eyes of the traitor Regent, shrinking in confusion from his angry and reproachful glance, contrasted with the ribald glee and boisterous determination of the profligate presbyterianised but really atheistical Bishop; the honest scorn of the veteran English admiral, Lord William Howard; the Mephistophelian leer and wink of the sly lawyer Wood on the thin misshapen English Premier; his sardonic smile in return; the exultant laughter of Lindsay and the other members of the confederacy, at the success of the well-concerted trick for bringing the accusation of their Sovereign forward, and at the same time shifting the responsibility of the proceeding on a pair of their tools, who had already committed themselves beyond the power of retreat!

Sir James Melville declares "that the Secretary Lethington had a sore heart, and that the Regent came forth of the Council-house with the tear in his eye, and past to his lodging at Kingston, a mile from Court, where his factious friends had enough ado to comfort him. The Queen of England," continues Melville, "having obtained her intent, received great contentment. First, she thought she had matter for her to show wherefore she retained the Queen; then she was glad of the Queen's dishonour, but she detested in her mind the Regent and all his company."

Elizabeth's blandishments to the royal victim of her

[1] Sir James Melville's Memoirs, Bannatyne Club edition.

Machiavellian policy, on this occasion, are thus recorded by Melville: "She sent also incontinent to the Queen to comfort her, praying her to think that she was in better case there, albeit kept for a while, than to be in Scotland with such unworthy subjects, who had accused her falsely and *wrongously* as she was assured, and that neither should they be the better nor she the worse for anything that they had done, for she would not be her judge nor give out any sentence thereupon, nor none should know by her or her Council no part of the said false accusation; praying her to take patience in her gentle ward, where she was nearer at hand to get the Crown of England set upon her head, in case of her decease, who was but the elder sister."

The apprehensions entertained at this period of some project for Mary's enfranchisement are manifest by Cecil's letters exhorting her keepers to redoubled vigilance. "Although," writes Knollys in reply, "all our soldiers watch their course every fifth night, that is to say, ten every night, but we have three sundry places watched within this house, so that the watch without the house can be but four at the most; and to meet with this danger I would have had other ten of Mr. Rede's band, but it is overruled against me, upon what credit I know not."[1]

He then adverts to the insecurity of his illustrious charge in her present quarters. "We all agree herein that this is an inconvenient and dangerous place for this Queen to tarry in, and in respect hereof you spoke of her removing, and her removing is wished, and specially that we here should take upon us to remove her, unwilling thereto, without sufficient authority, as we did from Carlisle. But as I have told you already, this Queen knoweth that we had no such authority to remove her from Carlisle, as we then by circumstance and countenance pretended, whereupon she hath plainly said 'she will no more be advised by us,' and she also now saith 'that we shall bind her hand and foot and forcibly carry her hence, before she will remove farther into this realm.'"[2]

[1] Knollys to Cecil, Dec. 3, 1568. Wright's Elizabeth. [2] Ibid.

MARY STUART.

CHAPTER XLVI.

SUMMARY.

Accusation of the conspirators against Mary confined to assertions—Hostile proceedings of the Earl of Lennox against her—Proofs of his collusion with the conspirators—Queen Mary's instructions to her Commissioners to break the Conference—She desires a public investigation of her cause—Elizabeth prevents her from defending herself—Moray exhibits the letters pretended to have been written by Queen Mary to Bothwell, and other fabrications—Crawford and Nelson's false-witness—Party in the Privy Council in Mary's favour—Mary's birthday at Bolton Castle—Harsh treatment of Lady Scroope by Queen Elizabeth—The Lord Mayor of London feasts Mary's Commissioners—Mary hears of a plot for delivering the Prince her son to Elizabeth—Her letter to the Earl of Mar—Cecil and Elizabeth's attempts to intimidate her into ratifying her abdication—Intrigues to make her give up her son.

THE accusation of her rebel Lords against Mary amounted, after all, to nothing more than assertions. They entered into no details; they produced no evidence; they cited no witnesses in support of their allegations,—allegations to which they expressly stated they were "driven in self-defence by her pressing, and their fears of forfeiting the favour and comfort they had hitherto received in all their treasonable enterprises from the Queen of England."[1] As it suited the policy of their powerful friend and patroness to treat it as a matter worthy of the greatest attention, a third session of the Conference was opened for the purpose of

[1] Protestation of the Earl of Moray and his Colleagues when they delivered their Accusation—Goodall's Appendix, p. 205.

encouraging them to produce the fabrications they had prepared to supply the place of personal testimony for the crimination of their Sovereign.

The next step in the deep-laid plot for bringing Mary to a trial on a charge of causing the murder of her husband, the born subject of the Queen of England, was the appearance of the Earl of Lennox before the English Commissioners to demand justice, for the death of his son, on the Queen of Scots. By way of substantiating his denunciation, he exhibited four letters, two written by Mary and two by himself, being a portion of their correspondence on the subject of bringing Bothwell, and other persons placarded as the murderers of Darnley, to trial—letters which, however unfairly disjointed from the natural order of the sequence, could not by any logic be turned to her reproach. Lennox also produced a long paper, purporting to be notes of what passed between Queen Mary and his son when she came to him at Glasgow at the time of his sickness, "written down," as he said and swore, "for his information at the time, by his servant Thomas Crawford." The object of these notes was twofold: first, to infer that Darnley suspected the Queen had a design against his life; and, secondly, to corroborate the statements feigned to be written by her to Bothwell from Glasgow, by making it appear that the discourse between her and Darnley detailed in the first of that series actually took place. The fictitious coincidence thus produced, though clearly the result of a careful collation, has had a startling effect on the minds of readers who have not entered sufficiently into the subject to be aware of the nefarious arts practised against this unfortunate Princess by those who successively usurped her Government.

In proof of these it is necessary here to call attention to the important fact first mentioned in the preceding volume of this biography, of the existence of a letter from Lennox to his servant Thomas Crawford,[1] suggesting to him, from his house at Chiswick, on the 11th of June 1568, several points in the notes which he pretended Crawford

[1] In the Collection of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, No. 13—Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers, printed for the Maitland Club.

had written down for his information at Glasgow in January 1567, seventeen months earlier than the date of that letter. John Wood, Moray's inventive secretary, was actually with Lennox at Chiswick at the same time he was thus prompting Thomas Crawford to supply this corroborative evidence in support of the forged letters, the Scotch drafts of which the said Wood had submitted to the consideration of Elizabeth and Cecil a few days previously; a clearer case of subornation, therefore, was never detected in the annals of false-witness, though nearly three centuries after that long hidden work of darkness was contrived and executed.

The existence of this all-important document was, of course, unknown to Hume, Robertson, Laing, and other historians, who have built their theories of Mary's guilt on the assumption that the letters imputed to her were genuine. But it is somewhat remarkable that not one of the numerous maintainers of her innocence should have perceived how strong an argument in Mary's favour is suggested by the fact that the Earl of Lennox, with all his eagerness for her crimination, was unable to produce one tittle of real evidence against her. If Darnley had considered himself injured as a husband, or unkindly treated by Mary, he would naturally have confided his grievances to his parents. One complaining letter from him, either to father, mother, or brother, would have weighed heavily against her. But it is a fact worthy of attention, that the only letters of Darnley to his father, of which any particulars exist, are those which Buchanan says were written by that unfortunate Prince in the house of Kirk-of-Field the day before his assassination, and "that they were full of commendations of her tender and cherishing care, and assurances of the sincerity of her reconciliation."

That no verbal complaints were repeated by Lennox as having been made to him of Queen Mary by his son, when he fled precipitately to him from Stirling after the baptism of the infant Prince, clearly demonstrates that Darnley's dissatisfaction was not of a personal but a political nature, and that his anger and suspicions were not excited by her, but by her ministers, Moray, Lething-

ton, and Makgill, who had surely given him abundant cause for the distrust and uncompromising hatred he had manifested against them, no less than their outlawed confederates, his own inimical kinsman Morton, the uncle and heir of the boy-Earl of Angus, and Lord Ruthven, the rival claimant of the great Douglas inheritance, the patrimony of his grandfather. And why, it may be asked, should Darnley's father have confederated with these mortal foes of his son against his royal daughter-in-law? In answer to this, it can only be said that the fact, being notorious, is undeniable, and that the reason of his acting a part so unnatural may be perceived in the criminal ambition which had induced him to league with the foreign invader, Henry VIII., against her in her infancy. His desire of ruling Scotland had prompted him to trouble the conjugal peace of the Queen and Darnley, by goading the latter to demand the crown-matrimonial, and to stain himself with the blood of her faithful servant Riccio. His insatiate malice against her, whose birth had prevented his promised adoption by her royal father as his successor, had not been mollified by her becoming the mother of his grandson. On the contrary, the existence of that infant, who, at her death, would become the undisputed Sovereign of Scotland, and heir-presumptive to the Britannic empire, was the great incentive for her destruction, since he might then aspire to govern three realms as the natural guardian and protector of the royal minor. Lennox had, withal, another son, Lord Charles Stuart, who, in the event of his grandson's death, would occupy the like proud position, unless, indeed, Mary were suffered to live, marry again, and bring forth other issue to bar his posterity from succeeding to either Crown.

Lord Herries being deputed by his fellow-commissioners to reply to the accusation of the rebel Lords against their royal mistress, did so on the first of December in a plain, manly address, which he read from a written paper, commencing with expressions of the regret and disgust he and his loyal coadjutors felt at hearing "their unworthy countrymen intended to colour their unjust and most un-

grateful doings against their liege Lady (who had been so beneficial to them as to make the greatest of them from mean men into Earls and Lords) by recompensing her with calumnious and false invented slanders, in so great a matter, whereof they themselves were the first devisers, writers with their own hands of that devilish Band, the conspiracy of the death of that innocent young gentleman Henry Stuart, presented to their wicked confederate James Earl of Bothwell, as was made manifest before ten thousand people at the execution of certain of the principal offenders at Edinburgh."[1] This triumphant reference to the explicit declarations and disclosures made by several of the subordinate agents in Darnley's murder, with their last breath on the scaffold, was never gainsaid by Moray and his colleagues; the fact was of too recent occurrence to be foresworn. The assertion of Herries is moreover corroborated by the testimony of the majority of the great nobles of Scotland, among whom may be enumerated the Earls of Eglinton, Huntley, Argyll, Errol, Crawford, Cassillis; the Lords Ogilvy, Livingstone, Fleming, Sanquhar, Oliphant, Somerville, Yester, Glenluce, Drummond, and Kilwinning, in their manifesto from Dumbarton, stating, "that the rebel Lords were the doers of the murder of which they accused the Queen, as," continue these loyal peers, "was deponed by them who suffered death therefor, who declared at all times the Queen their sovereign to be innocent thereof;" also, "that her adversaries, usurpers of her authority, offered remission to sundry that were convicted of that crime if they would say that her Grace was guilty thereof."[2] When the names and spotless characters of such men as the Earls of Eglinton, Errol, the Lords Livingstone, Fleming, Herries, and Ogilvy, are taken into consideration, no one can seriously believe that even party-zeal would have induced them to commit themselves to the world as the maintainers of anything that was notoriously false. Their statement re-

[1] Goodall's Appendix, p. 213—Sadler's State Papers, ii. 335.
[2] Sept. 12. See Appendix, No. III.

mains to this day uncontradicted, save by the solitary oath of Thomas Crawford, one of the confederates, as to the demeanour on the scaffold of the men who suffered death for the murder.

Herries thus proceeds in his reply to the accusation Moray and his confederates had brought against Mary: "But seeing they can get no other excuse to this their treasonable usurpation and manifest wrongs — yea, such usurpation and wrongs as never have seen the like for subjects to have done, or attempted of before! No, no, my Lords, this is not the cause why they have put their hands on their Sovereign, the anointed of God." He then proceeded to explain that the true cause of the conspiracy against the Government and life of Queen Mary was to create a fresh minority by seeking a subtle pretext for deposing her and crowning her infant son, in order to prevent her from fulfilling her intention of availing herself of the prerogative of revoking, when she completed her twenty-fifth year, the too lavish grants of the Crown-lands which she, for their unshamefaced begging, had given to these ungrateful traitors and their supporters in her youthful inexperience. He concluded with this appeal to the English Commissioners: "And that ye, my Lords of the noble, ancient, and worthy blood of this realm, are convened to hear and understand this cause, and that your honours should report the same to your Sovereign, is our great comfort to have good answer, which we humbly require." The Bishop of Ross demanded "that they might have access to speak with the Queen of England, in order to declare to her Majesty the commandment they had received from the Queen their Sovereign to stay proceedings, and also to require that, for the answer of these infamous calumniations, their Queen might come in proper person to the presence of her Majesty, and there, before her Council and nobility, and such Ambassadors as were here in this realm for any foreign Princes, answer for herself for defence of her innocency, and, in the mean season, that the other party, having in this sort accused her, might be arrested and stayed until

the end of this cause might be seen."[1] He produced and showed Queen Mary's letter of the 22d of November, which they had now received, containing her instructions to that effect. Elizabeth, in the presence of her Privy Council, repeated her convenient excuse for refusing to allow Mary to enter her presence, even for the purpose of defending herself, as proposed, from the injurious charges that had been brought against her by the usurpers of her Government, observing, "that it would be best for the honour of both that trial should be ta'en thereof;" adding this conciliatory remark, "For I could never believe, nor yet will, that she did consent thereto."[2]

With the twofold object of depriving Mary of the opportunity of justifying herself before the English nobility and foreign Ambassadors as she desired, and rendering the breach between her and the members of the Scotch Commission irreconcilable, Elizabeth then declared "that there would be no occasion to trouble her good sister to come into her presence till it might appear what her accusers could prove, and what they had to verify their answer and additions; and therefore," continued she, "I will send for them and inquire them thereof, for I think it very reasonable that she should be heard in her own cause, being so weighty; but to determine whom before, when, and where, any time before I understand how they will verify their allegations, I am not as yet resolved."[3] Mary's Commissioners replied, "that it seemed more reasonable that those inobedient subjects might not be heard any farther till their Sovereign were present to speak

[1] Goodall's Appendix. As neither Robertson nor Mignet have thought proper to mention the oft-reiterated offer of Mary to confront her accusers and repel their charges publicly, it is necessary, even at the risk of being censured for repetition, to call attention the more earnestly to the fact that the desolate and oppressed captive, instead of shrinking from an investigation of her conduct, demanded that it should be publicly made. Even as she had from her prison at Lochleven appealed to an inimical Parliament for license to appear in person to answer to the injurious allegations of her usurping brother and his confederates, so did she from Bolton Castle repeat her demand to Elizabeth to be heard in her own defence, and confronted with her accusers in the presence of the nobles of England, and the representatives of foreign Princes then in England.

[2] Journal of the Commissioners, Dec. 1, 1568—Goodall's Appendix, p. 212.

[3] Ibid.

for herself;" observing, "that their own Commission was at an end, and they would make no answer to anything the others might either produce or say against their royal mistress," concluding by requiring a positive answer to their supplication. Elizabeth replied, "that it required consideration;" and so dismissing them, they returned to their lodgings at Kingston. Moray and his company being also located there, frequent encounters between the adverse parties could not be avoided. That these ended without bloodshed may perhaps be attributed to the pacific policy of the Bishop of Ross, who perceived that Elizabeth would never pronounce a decision against her own faction, and that the only chance of Mary's restoration was by an amicable arrangement with the rebel Lords. Acting on this conviction, he, with the concurrence of his fellow-commissioners, requested Cecil and Leicester to ask their royal mistress to save herself from all further trouble, by mediating a reconciliation on such terms as might be consistent with the honour of Queen Mary and the safety of the Earl of Moray and his adherents. Elizabeth replied, "that after the great and heinous crimes they had imputed to their Sovereign, it would not be consistent with Queen Mary's honour to listen to an accommodation, and, for her part, she could not so far forget her duty, as her sister and friend, as to propose it, but would rather send for the Earl of Moray and his accomplices, and reprove them for their audacious accusations of their Queen, than encourage any motion for a reconciliation as matters then stood."[1]

Here Mary's Commissioners explained, "that the motion for an accommodation proceeded not from their Sovereign, who as yet knew not of the accusation that had been put in against her, but was a suggestion entirely of their own, from their desire to compose this unhappy strife, their assurance of the forgiving temper of their royal mistress, and that, from the beginning of the Conference, it was her wish to have it ended by some good appointment made by her Majesty. Seeing, however, that her Majesty liked not thereof, they would renew their request that the

[1] Journal of Privy Council, Dec. 4, 1568—Hampton Court.

Queen their mistress might come up to answer for herself in person in the presence of the English nobles and foreign Ambassadors as before proposed."[1]

"To these our reasonable desires," says the Bishop of Ross, "we could have no other answer of the Queen of England nor her Council, but that she would not admit the Queen our sovereign to come to her presence, or to be publicly heard before her nobility for her purgation and defence. And so upon these occasions, perceiving that the Conference apparently tended to some other end than we looked not for, which was in the place of godly concord and charitable reconciliation to the nourishing of strife and discord and rigorous accusations. Therefore, at the special command of the Queen our sovereign, and by the advice of Ambassadors of other Princes, and of the Duke of Châtelherault, and other friends then present, we refused to confer or treat any further with them; and so the Conference was dissolved on all hands."[2]

In acting conformably to the advice of the Duke of Châtelherault, her nearest kinsman, who had been the guardian of her orphaned infancy, and Governor of the realm during eleven years of her minority, Mary acted constitutionally as well as wisely, for he was not only the greatest peer in Scotland, but the first Prince of the blood-royal, recognised by the three Estates as the next in the royal succession after the Prince her son, and by the laws of Scotland legally entitled to hold the regency in the event of the demise of the Crown, or any other casualty during the minority of the Sovereign. When the peculiar position occupied by the Duke is considered, combined with the important fact that he was at that very time supported by the influence of the French party in a suit for Mary to accept the hand of his second son, Lord John Hamilton, it must be concluded that the decision he suggested on this occasion was most consistent with propriety as regarded the honour of his intended daughter-in-law, and her dignity as a monarch.

[1] Journal of Privy Council, Dec. 4, 1568—Lesley's Negotiations.
[2] Lesley's Negotiations—Printed in Anderson's Collections.

But Cecil, the ruler of Elizabeth's councils, and the manager of the Conferences, did not intend that it should end thus. He told Mary's Commissioners, when they delivered in their address to that effect on the 6th of December, "that they had misunderstood the answer of his Sovereign," and misreported it, which mistake they were bound to rectify.[1] Having by this subterfuge insured the delay of more than a week before they could communicate with Mary and receive her reply, he employed himself so successfully in goading the Earl of Moray and his colleagues to show cause for the accusation they had delivered against their Sovereign, that Moray, after observing "that they had only come thither in obedience to the Queen's Majesty's commands, at the motion of the Queen their Sovereign's mother, to answer such things as they were charged with, which they had done at York; but seeing they had in reply been charged with fresh matter of treason in various ways, they were reluctantly compelled, in self-defence, to come to the open accusation they had since made; and finding, by the speech lately used to them, that the Queen's Majesty Elizabeth was grievously offended by the same, they would show to her Commissioners a collection made in writing of the presumptions and circumstances, by the which it should evidently appear that, as the Earl of Bothwell was the chief murderer of the King, so was the Queen a deviser and maintainer thereof."[2]

This collection, being the same which Moray had deputed Lethington, Makgill, Wood, and Buchanan to exhibit secretly to the English Commissioners at York, he, with the above farcical parade of mystery and reluctance, re-introduced to them on the 8th of December at Westminster. The journal of the Conference for that day, after describing the casket, states "that therein were certain letters and writings, which they (the Scotch Commissioners) *said* and affirmed 'to have been written by the Queen of Scots' own hand to the Earl of Bothwell, which had been left in the

[1] Goodall's Appendix, p. 232—Journal of the Commissioners, Dec. 6, 1568.

[2] Ibid., pp. 233-234.

Castle of Edinburgh, and, before his flying away, was sent for by one Dalgleish, his servant, who had been taken by the Earl of Morton,' who, sitting there as one of the Commissioners, averred upon oath 'the same to be true, and the writings the very same without any change.'"[1] That oath—the oath of one of the principals in the murder those letters were meant to fix on the Queen—was the only attestation the parties by whom they were produced ever brought in verification of them. Now, although they had apparently committed a strange blunder in hanging Dalgleish without first securing his testimony on so important a subject, the loss of his evidence was not wholly irremediable, while Sir James Balfour, from whom Dalgleish was alleged by Morton to have received them, was living, and still allied with them in their unholy confederacy, and Nicholas Hubert, *alias* French Paris, the pretended bearer of the letters from Mary to Bothwell, was a prisoner in their hands; but they brought forward neither of these witnesses, nor any other, for the purpose of at least making the attempt to verify those most suspicious, and indeed self-disproving letters.

All Mary's private papers were in the possession of her accusers, and had they found no answers from Bothwell to these fond foolish billets, or to any other of her missives? —for if she wrote these, it cannot be supposed the correspondence would be limited to just the eight alleged to have been found in that secure depository, a French filigree silver casket. Surely it must be regarded as a strong argument in her favour, that in none of her escritoires, her coffers, her cabinets, her bureaus which she had been compelled unexpectedly to abandon to their tender mercies, was aught discovered that could be produced to corroborate, in the slightest degree, the infamous charges of her self-interested calumniators. That Mary Stuart did not encourage her courtiers to write such fulsome follies to her as her mature maiden sister of England condescended not only to receive from Hatton, but to

[1] State Paper MS., Dec. 8, 1568.

answer in the same strain,[1] may be inferred from the fact that not one document was or could be brought forward in proof of such unseemly familiarity. It is moreover to be observed, that the English Commissioners, in their report of the silver-casket budget, cautiously abstain from stating that the suspicious papers it contained were actually written by Mary, but only that those by whom they were produced "said they were." Thus "*they*," Moray and his confederates, "exhibited a writing written in a Roman hand in French, as *they said*, and 'would avow by the Queen of Scots herself,' being a promise of marriage to the Earl of Bothwell,"—then seven letters, one after the other, "in Roman hand, which *they averred* 'to be of the said Queen's hand.'"[2] The letters are stated to be in French, and in token thereof three or four French words were quoted as the commencement of the three that are specified; but there is only one entire letter quoted in French, and this is a brief, tender expostulation with some one for being angry with her about something one of her female attendants had done. The French copy of this letter is only twenty lines, with a translation. The original may, perhaps, have been a genuine letter from Mary to Darnley, who, being jealous

[1] Calling him by the pet names of her "sheep," her "belwether," and her "sweet lids." Here is a specimen of one of Hatton's letters to Elizabeth: "I will wash away the faults of these letters, with the drops from your poor 'lids,' and so enclose them. Would God I were with you but for one hour! My wits are overwrought with thoughts. I find myself amazed. Bear with me, most dear sweet lady; passion overcometh me. I can write no more! Love me, for I love you. God, I beseech Thee, witness the same on the behalf of thy poor servant. Live for ever! Shall I utter this familiar term, farewell? Yea, ten thousand thousand farewells! He speaketh it that most dearly loveth you. I hold you too long. Once more I crave pardon, and so bid your poor 'lids' farewell. 1573, June.

"Your bondsman everlastingly tied, CH. HATTON."

—State Paper Office MS.

If such a letter from Bothwell to Queen Mary had been, or could have been, produced, it would have been triumphantly blazoned as an indisputable evidence of something worse than levity on her part. Yet this is only one of a long series, written by her handsome Vice-Chamberlain, to the maiden monarch of England, some of which will not bear quotation. They were carefully treasured by her, and may yet be seen in the State Paper Office, among the holograph letters illustrative of her personal correspondence. The late Sir Harris Nicolas printed a selection from them in his Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton.

[2] Session in the Painted Chamber, vii.-viii. of December—State Paper Office MS.

of her friendship for Lady Mar and Lady Moray, was likely enough to have evinced the like peevish feelings towards females of inferior degree in the household of his royal consort.

LETTER IV.

"My Heart, alas! must the folly of a woman, whose unthankfulness toward me ye do sufficiently know, be occasion of displeasure unto you, considering that I could not have provided a remedy without knowing it? and since I perceived it, I could not tell it you, because I knew not how to govern myself therein; for neither in that nor in any other thing will I undertake to do aught without knowledge of your will, which I beseech you to let me understand; for I will perform it all, my life, more willingly than you could declare it; but if you do not send me word to-night what you would have me do, I will undertake the risk of enterprising it myself, which might be injurious to our mutual design. And when she shall be married, I will pray you to give me another, or rather I will choose some one whose deportment, I think, will satisfy you; but as for their tongues and fidelity to you I would not answer. I entreat you that the opinion of another remove not your reliance on my constancy. Mistrust you me, who will put you out of doubt, and declare my innocence?

"Oh my dear life, refuse not to allow me to give proof of my obedience, fidelity, and voluntary subjection; for I take it as the greatest pleasure I can have if you accept it without ceremony, wherein you could not do me greater wrong, nor more mortally offend me."[1]

Though the letter contains not the slightest clue for discovering either the writer, the woman alluded to, or the person to whom it is addressed, the confederates have in their descriptive endorsement stated, "that it was *anent* Margaret Carwood before her marriage, and written by the Queen of Scots to Bothwell," and "*prufe* her affecting." What is there proved would puzzle the cleverest riddle-reader the world ever saw to make out. There is, however, this additional annotation: "Margaret Carwood was one special in trust with the S. Q., and most privy to all her most secret affairs;"[2] and this annotation is in the handwriting of Randolph—a fact that speaks volumes.

[1] State Paper Office MS.

[2] On this foundation malignant slanders on poor Margaret have been based by Buchanan and repeated by his copyists. Her offence being her courageous fidelity and ingenuity in concerting with Bastian Paiges, whom she afterwards married, the escape of the Queen and Darnley from Holyrood, after the assassination of Riccio, accompanying them in their midnight flight to Dunbar, and afterwards with devoted affection following the adverse fortunes of her unfortunate mistress, and waiting upon her in her English prisons. Under these circumstances, the calumnies and revilings of

There is also a copy in broad Scotch of the mysterious letter No. VIII., which was prudently withdrawn by the confederates from the series exhibited in the Painted Chamber, for there are allusions in it which prove that, if the original were written by Mary, it was not addressed to Bothwell, but to Darnley, after their private nuptials, which are more than once mentioned, together with tender complaints of his misconduct. The first few words only are in French, breaking off in the middle of a sentence thus:—

"Monsieur, si l'ennuy de vostre absence, celuy de vostre oubly, la crainte du danger tant prouvé d'un chacun à vostre tant aymée personne."

This the Scotch translator blunderingly renders:—

"My Lord, gif the displesure of zour absence, of zour forgetfulnes, y^e feir of danger sa promise be every ane to zour so lovit persone may gif me consolation I leif it to zou to juge."

The rest will, however, be more intelligible in a condensed abstract. After tender reproaches for "thoughtlessness, want of care, broken promises, and the coldness of his writing now she is so far made his," and reminding him that "he had promised surety and honourable service," she professes "her lowly and dutiful submission to his commandments," without feignedness of heart and spirit, and of good reason, though my merits were much greater than of the most perfect that ever was, and such as I desire to be, and shall take pains in conditions to imitate for to be bestowed worthily under your *regiment* (rule). My only wealth receive therefore in all good part, the same as I have received your marriage with extreme joy, the which shall not part forth from my bosom till that the marriage of our bodies be made in public,"—promising, in conclusion, "to be ever his humble, obedient, and lawful wife." Now this surely applies to her secretly-wedded husband Darnley, in anticipation of the public solemnisation of their wedlock. Secretly married to Bothwell she never was. His lawful wife no-

those who slandered and persecuted Mary, ought to be regarded as the highest testimonials they could offer to the virtue of this incorruptible servant, especially as there existed not the slightest grounds for the cruel and unmanly attacks they made on her reputation.

thing could make her, a member of the Romish Church, consider herself during Lady Bothwell's life, without a papal dispensation, for which she never applied: even his pre-contract to Lady Buccleuch would, to a Roman Catholic princess, have presented an insuperable objection.

A token is described as accompanying this letter—such token, however, as any guilty votaress of lawless love would have shuddered to contemplate, and never would have sent to a paramour—being a *memento mori* in the form of a mourning-ring, having for a device a sepulchre of *pietra dura*, enamelled black, sprinkled with tears and bones; and enclosing a portion of her hair, which, she tells the nameless person to whom it is sent, "is never to come forth till death grant unto him a trophy of victory over her bones, leaving him to be better bestowed than on her:" a tender and pathetic reproach to one whose highly-educated and poetic spirit would understand the metaphor and appreciate the sentiment. The original of this letter was probably found among Darnley's papers. Certainly the Scotch copy contains nothing that can apply to Bothwell; so that, if written by Mary, it was not to him, but to her secretly-wedded lord.

After Moray and his colleagues had exhibited the contracts, letters, and poetry, and affirmed "that they were written by the Queen," they showed the English Commissioners the Book of Articles, containing garbled abstracts of the examinations of Bothwell's servants who had suffered death as accomplices in the murder of Darnley, on their own confessions, of having deposited the powder under the Queen's bed, and firing the train by which the house was blown up, although evidence of a less suspicious character has proved that the powder was in reality put in mines which were sunk for that purpose in the angles at the foundations of the building. Their examinations were attested by the signature of Sir John Bellenden, the traitor Justice-Clerk, who had presided at the trials and torture of these subordinate agents in the tragedy.[1] These depositions con-

[1] Sir John Bellenden's brother had aimed his whinger at Queen Mary's bosom, during the ferocious onslaught at the murder of David Riccio, and

tained nothing tending to the crimination of the Queen, and they had fully exonerated her in their last confession on the scaffold, in the presence of God, and in the hearing of the thousands assembled to see them die.

A Journal was also presented by the Regent and his colleagues to the English Commissioners, being, they pretended, "an authentic record of the Queen's proceedings written down as they occurred," but palpably fabricated for the express purpose of bolstering up their accusation. It has already been noticed that the entries in this journal represent Mary as roaming about the land in a tête-à-tête tour with Bothwell, when the official reports of Sir John Forster bear indisputable evidence that she was performing a military and judicial progress, travelling in royal state, and attended by Moray himself, all the great officers of her Court, and a numerous escort.[1]

The recentness of the fabrication is detected by the anachronism into which the author has fallen, of entitling the Earl of Moray "my Lord Regent," on the 16th of March 1566-7; and again, "April 9th, my Lord Regent departed furth of Scotland,"[2] whereas Moray did not obtain that office till the succeeding August: the discrepancy of falsehood is therefore glaringly apparent. So much for the documentary evidence on which the credibility of the crimes imputed to Mary Stuart by the usurpers of her Government depends. Personal witnesses against her there were none, for Thomas Crawford and Thomas Nelson, the only persons brought forward by Moray and his confederates to testify aught to her prejudice, made no verbal depositions, each being provided with his story written down on paper for the avoiding of inconvenient blunders; neither were they subjected to the process of an examination, or the ordeal of cross-ques-

both were implicated in the conspiracy. Moreover, Sir John Bellenden took an active part in inducing Craig to publish her banns with Bothwell, and procured his own uncle, the profligate Bishop of Orkney, to perform the disgraceful office of marrying their captive Sovereign to her ruffian ravisher. The murderous part he acted to the unfortunate Lady of Woodhouselee provoked the deadly visitation of her bereaved husband's vengeance on the head of the Regent Moray, as will be shown anon.

[1] See Vol. V., Lives of the Queens of Scotland, pp. 32, 33, 36.

[2] Cotton. Lib.—Caligula, B. ix., f. 247.

tioning, as their papers were read and sworn to by them in the absence of Mary's Commissioners; yet they have not only passed muster with superficial historians ever since, but have been exultingly quoted by the assertors of Mary's guilt, and absolutely embodied as part and parcel of her history.

Crawford's paper of notes had already been introduced to the English Commissioners, read and sworn to by the Earl of Lennox, so that the appearance of this person to read them again, and affirm on oath that he wrote them down for his Lord's information at Glasgow, nearly a year and a half before they were suggested to him by that nobleman from Chiswick (during the visit of Moray's secretary John Wood), need only be mentioned among the proceedings of the 9th of December, when his evidence was used for corroboration of the first of the forged letters.[1]

Thomas Nelson appeared before the Commissioners under circumstances calculated to produce a deep and marvellous impression, for he was the personal servant of Darnley, had slept in the house of Kirk-of-Field on the night of the fatal 9th of February, and was the sole survivor of that mysterious tragedy, having been taken alive out of the ruins, preserved almost miraculously "by reason of a great stone wall betwixt the King's chamber and the place where he did lie. He was introduced by Moray with a request that he might depose on oath to his knowledge therein."[2] He did not, however, make a verbal deposition; his testimony, like that of Crawford, being confined to swearing that the contents of a written paper which he read were true.

Nelson had been arrested by Sir William Drury at Berwick, and detained there several months with the rest of Darnley's servants, to whom the royal widow had, in the fearless consciousness that she had done nothing that could be reported to her dishonour, granted passports to return to England after the death of their murdered

[1] Anderson, vol. iv. p. 168. [2] Goodall's Appendix, Dec. 9, 1568.

master, on their expressing a desire to do so;[1] and he was the only person among them base enough to be rendered the tool of her usurping brother, by coming forward as a false witness against her. His story of her Majesty's thrifty care for the preservation of a new black figured velvet bed (which he pretended was in the King's lodging at Kirk-of-Field), by having a shabby old one substituted previous to the blowing-up, has been disproved by such indisputable evidence from the Royal Wardrobe-Book, and inventory of the furniture destroyed on that occasion, that it can never again be quoted, except in illustration of the base arts and shameless perjuries resorted to by Mary's foes in their attempts to substantiate their charges against her.[2]

As, however, neither Elizabeth nor her ministers were a whit more aware of the existence of the documents which manifest Crawford and Nelson's perjuries than Monsieur Mignet himself, it is very possible they might have been deceived by Moray, by whom this false witness and his written statement were introduced to the English Commissioners.

The ceremony of comparing the letters in the silver filigree casket, alleged by Morton to have been captured by himself[3] on the person of Bothwell's servant, the late George Dalgleish, with several letters written by Mary to Queen Elizabeth, was performed at Hampton Court, in an extraordinary sederunt of Privy Council, by Mr Secretary Cecil and others of his colleagues, at which none of Mary's Commissioners or faithful nobles were permitted to be present; and it was declared "that, on careful and due collation,

[1] Sir William Drury to Cecil, February 15, 1567.—Border Correspondence, State Paper Office MSS.

[2] Vol. V., Lives of the Queens of Scotland, pp. 136, 137, to which the reader is referred for the description of the magnificent bed actually destroyed, and all other particulars.

[3] State Paper MSS., Hampton Court, December 13, 14, and 15. The journal of the proceedings on this occasion is altered, garbled, interpolated, and so completely mystified by Cecil's hand, that it appears at first sight doubtful whether the collation and agreement does not refer to Morton's first declaration regarding the capture of the casket and its contents, or his last attestation, such as it is; but in neither does he think it necessary to explain where the alleged capture was effected.

no difference was found"—a declaration which elicited the sarcastic comment from Lesley, Bishop of Ross, "O perfect and worthy collation! O meet and apt men for such a purpose!"

The Earls of Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, Worcester, Warwick, Northumberland, and Westmoreland—who had been summoned to give their attendance at Hampton Court on this occasion—expressed themselves, we are told, "honoured by this mark of their Sovereign's confidence, and infinitely shocked at the foul matter which had been exhibited, whereby they thought her Majesty had just cause for refusing to admit the Queen of Scots to her presence."[1] Yet, although they all (if we may trust Cecil's record) united in answering, as in duty bound, far different must have been the sentiments of two at least of the respondents, Northumberland and Westmoreland, as they proved by taking up arms as Mary's champions, in the hope of effecting her deliverance and placing her on the throne of England. This they would not have done had they attached the slightest credit to the assertion of her usurping brother and his confederates, that the letters were written by her. Nor can it be supposed that Northumberland would have ventured to propose her, on his own responsibility, to the Spanish Ambassador as a consort for his Sovereign,[2] had he not been fully satisfied of her innocence. The reports of that Minister, as well as those of La Mothe Fénélon, the new French Ambassador, bear witness that great diversity of opinion was expressed in Elizabeth's Council Chamber as to the course proper to be adopted in regard to Mary. Cecil, Leicester, Sadler, and Bacon, insisted that the papers exhibited by Moray substantiated the accusation; and Lord-Chancellor Bacon was so forgetful of equity as to declare, "that, as long as she were suffered to exist, there could be no security for the life and government of their Sovereign;"[3] while Arundel, Norfolk, Sussex, and Clinton, contended "that she had a right to be heard in her own defence, and even represented

[1] State Paper MSS.

[2] Confessions of the Earl of Northumberland. Memorials of the Northern Rebellion, by Sir Cuthbert Sharpe—Appendix.

[3] Despatches of La Mothe Fénélon.

to Elizabeth, "that, in allowing her to be oppressed and defamed by her rebellious subjects, she was preparing a dangerous precedent for her own." According to the reports of the Spanish Ambassador, "the spirit shown by these great peers acted as a check to the violence with which Cecil and his party sought the destruction of Mary."[1]

Queen Mary completed her twenty-sixth year at Bolton Castle on the day selected by her fraternal foe, and his accomplices in treason and false-witness, for the formal production of the disgusting forgeries they had prepared to colour their accusations. A woeful birthday anniversary it must have been for her, though she was too remote from the scene of action to be aware of the proceedings in the Painted Chamber at Westminster for her defamation.

Winter closed in very early in that wild mountainous district, and with more than ordinary severity. Wensleydale and the surrounding country are described by Sir Francis Knollys as deep in frozen snow, and the roads so slippery as to be almost impassable. Elizabeth was bent on removing Mary to Tutbury, a much colder place. Knollys protested the impossibility of performing the journey at that time of the year, and under circumstances "when foot-passengers might make their way almost as fast as horsemen, and with much less danger." The unlucky Vice-Chamberlain, aware that he was in disgrace with all parties, and heartily weary of the ungracious duties of jailer, spy, reporter, and watch-dog, implored to be superseded, and allowed either to come to the Court or return to his own house, where his sick wife was pining for his presence; but his entreaties were disregarded.[2]

Poor Lady Scroope, who was expecting her confinement about the close of the year, was, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, barbarously prohibited, by a peremptory verbal message from her august kinswoman, from

[1] MSS. Despatches of the Spanish Ambassador at Simanças, quoted in the Notes of Lingard's last edition, p. 139.

[2] Knollys to Cecil, Bolton Castle, December 15, 1568—State Paper MS., inedited.

lying-in at her Lord's castle. "Mr Morton declared unto me," writes Sir Francis Knollys, "that her Majesty's pleasure was, that my Lady Scroope should remove her hence before Christmas." . . . The terms are too coarse for repetition, in which "good Queen Bess" couched her unfeminine order for the high-born matron to depart from Bolton Castle and give birth to her infant "in some other place; and," continues Knollys, "my Lord Scroope hath provided for her accordingly, two miles from this house"—probably by hiring a lodging for her in the village of Leyburn. "But, by her being here," observes Knollys, "we had this commodity, that at all hours she might visit this Queen in her chamber."[1] It may be surmised, however, that the noble daughter of Surrey, and sister of Norfolk, even if to avoid suspicion, and prevent the employment of a less scrupulous person, she had accepted the office of a domiciliary spy on the illustrious captive at Bolton, had not performed the odious duties expected of her to Elizabeth's satisfaction, or she would not have been thus rudely driven from her own house at a season when quiet and comfort were so peculiarly requisite. What would have been said of Mary Stuart if she had ever abused her authority, either as Queen of France or Sovereign of Scotland, by such an unwomanly act of oppression? But, as Brantôme, who knew her well, has said of her, "Never was she capable of cruelty." Not one instance of unkindness, or even discourtesy, to the ladies of her Court or household, has ever been cited against her. Dearly did they love her in her prosperity, fondly and faithfully did they cleave to her in the dark days when she was a throneless captive. The earnest applications from members of the female aristocracy of Scotland for leave to pass into England and wait upon her in prison, are sufficient evidence of the estimation in which she was held by those who had had the best opportunities of personal knowledge of her manners and characteristics.[2] "Let the noble realm

[1] Knollys to Cecil, December 15, 1568.

[2] Among others, it is only necessary to enumerate Lady Lethington, the Countess of Atholl and her daughter, and Elizabeth and Barbara Mowbray, the daughters of the rebel Laird of Barnbougle.

of France," exclaims her eloquent servant Lesley, "testify of her demeanour and behaviour. Let her own subjects, that be not her open enemies, and her double double traitors, accuse her hardly and spare her not. But let them think withal at their better leisure, and when they shall be better advised, whether there be any indifferent person who will not both detest and utterly abhor the perverse and naughty nature of such ungrate traitors, or that will not think it far unlike that this noble Queen, who hath so graciously pardoned their double and treble treasons, would ever find it in her heart so to use her own dear husband. This is unlikely, this is incredible, and the more so all circumstances considered. For if she had been desirous to have been rid of him, as they falsely and maliciously report her to have been, she had good and lawful means to serve her turn." [1]

After Lesley's triumphant appeal to the estimation in which Mary was held in the realm where she was best known, it is impossible to refrain from quoting the following beautiful lines from the recently-published poem of Professor Aytoun, as affording a characteristic description of what, according to the testimony of Brantôme and other eyewitnesses, she was at the period when, at the call of duty, she left the happy land, where her departure was for years lamented as a national calamity:—

"O lovelier than the fairest flower
That ever bloomed on green,
Was she, the lily of the land,
That young and spotless Queen!
The sweet, sweet smile upon her lips,
Her eyes so kind and clear,
The magic of her gentle voice,
That even now I hear!
And nobles knelt and princes bent
Before her as she came;
A Queen by gift of nature she,
More than a Queen in name." [2]

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[1] Defence of Queen Mary's Honour.

[2] Bothwell; a Poem in Six Parts, p. 5. By W. Edmondstoune Aytoun, D.C.L. A work which, for genius, originality of conception, and poetic brilliancy of execution, has no rival in modern times. It not only sustains but will enhance the deservedly high reputation of the author of *Lays of*

The traditional belief in Mary Stuart's innocence, which has lingered for nearly three centuries in the hearts and homes of Scotland, from the castle to the humblest cot, where oral chroniclers have repeated her tragic story from generation to generation, proves how strongly the power of moral evidence and the victorious influence of truth—truth felt, not fully seen—have wrestled with the lying spirit of political defamation, and kept alive the interest involved in the controversy, till the perjuries of her calumniators should, in the fulness of time, be made manifest.

It is a curious fact that the Lord Mayor of London, during the Conferences at Westminster, paid Queen Mary's Commissioners, and her noble Scotch suitor, Lord John Hamilton, the compliment of inviting them to his banquet. During the supper, a Scotchman present—probably one of the Regent's adherents—said, "Pity it is the Queen of Scots rebels against her son as she does." "Yea," answered another with sarcastic emphasis, "but not more pity than the King of France should rebel as he doth against the Prince de Condé."[1]

Mary, meantime, having received private intelligence from her friends in the English Privy Council that a secret treaty had been concluded between her false brother Moray and Queen Elizabeth, for surrendering both the Castle of Stirling and the Prince her son into the hands of the latter, addressed, on the 17th of December, a letter to the Earl of Mar, which does equal honour to her feelings as a Queen and as a mother. "The natural love I bear my child," writes the bereaved Princess, "and my care for the preservation of that which it has pleased God to commit to my charge, impels me to write this letter to you, to inform you of things which, I doubt not, are concealed from you, or at least disguised by those in whom you confide the most. My son is about to be taken out of your hands and sent to this country, and the care of Stirling Castle

the Scottish Cavaliers. The Notes are peculiarly interesting, as containing a judicial collation and summary of the evidences which have induced him, the Sheriff of Orkney, to record a verdict of acquittal in favour of Mary Stuart, and of reprobation of her self-interested accusers.

[1] State Paper MS., inedited.

committed to a garrison of foreigners. You know I confided both the one and the other to you, from the trust I had in you and those belonging to you."[1]

The peculiar relation in which the Earl of Mar, when Prior of Inchmahome, had stood to Mary as her preceptor, her almost filial love and reverence for him in her childhood, the benefits with which she had loaded him, and her fond reliance on his supposed gratitude and love for her, renders the following dignified reproach, which, more in sorrow than anger, she addresses to him, most touching; yet it was probably read without remorse or shame by the world-hardened priest, on whose shaven crown her indulgent hand had placed a coronet: "However you may, through the persuasions of others, have departed from your first glow of loyalty, yet if there be (as I cannot but think there is) still remaining in you some lingering feeling and remembrance of that which, by the effects, I have shown I bear to you, though you will not acknowledge it in *my* behalf, let it at least be testified in that of my son, of whom I pray you to have the care to which your honour and the affection you owe your country oblige you. Provide in time for the security of the place, and take heed that you be not robbed of my son either by force or fraud; for what I tell you is certain fact, having been agreed, and the only question is how it is to be executed. I believe," she adds, "that it is the cupidity and ambition of your kinsman, alone, which has induced you to consent to the ruin and desolation of your country, and to see it rendered the vassal and slave of another, as it will be, if God by His goodness and mercy break not the wicked designs of those who work such ways as they are practising, for the purpose of aggrandising themselves and serving their private interests."

In her postscript the royal mother emphatically adds: "Remember, when I gave you my son, as my dearest jewel, you promised me 'to keep him, and not to resign

[1] Mary Stuart to the Earl of Mar, from Bolton, December 17, 1568—State Paper Office MS.

him to any one without my consent,' and this promise you have since repeated by your letters."[1]

As it suited Mar's selfish interests to keep possession of the puppet King, in whose name the faction that had dethroned Mary governed the realm, the pledge he had given her served as a feasible pretext for traversing his ambitious nephew's secret treaty with Elizabeth, by positively refusing to deliver him up.

Elizabeth, having set her mind on getting the infant into her own hands, sought to obtain her object through the instrumentality of the captive mother, whom she instructed Sir Francis Knollys to intimidate and beguile into ratifying her abdication, remaining in England as a private person, and consenting that her son should retain the title of King, and that the Earl of Moray should continue to govern her realm in his name. "On these conditions the calumnious charges of the conspirators were to be committed to perpetual silence;"[2] a proposal dictated by the like spirit which occasionally prompts the basest of wretches to extort money from innocent persons, by threatening to brand them with the most horrible crimes, unless they will submit to the extortion. The manner in which Elizabeth instructs her agent to proceed is worthy of attention: "First, we would have you, whom we have just cause to trust, to attempt her herein, and yet to do the same as of yourself, by way of communication and devising with her of her troubles."

After apprising Knollys that he would receive a Memorial, containing notes of such reasons as were thought most likely to move the royal captive to compliance, Elizabeth thus proceeds:—

"Which Memorial, being well perused and considered by you, we would have you, as speedily as you may, begin to deal with her therein, always so preparing your speech as coming only of yourself, and not by any direction, but rather seeming that you would be glad to deal herein for her, and, as you shall see cause, to use any other reasons to induce her to this pur-

[1] Mary Stuart to the Earl of Mar, from Bolton, December 17, 1568—State Paper Office MS.

[2] The Queen's Majesty of England to Mr Vice-Chamberlain, 22d of December 1568. Printed in Goodall's Appendix, pp. 276, 277, 278.

pose; and of her disposition send us answer with all the speed you may. And lest she may have some speech hereof with the Lord Scroope, we think it good that you inform him of the same also, with great secresy, that he may agree with you in opinion, if cause be given him by her to talk thereof. And this we would have done before the Bishop of Ross shall come thither, whom we have caused to be stayed a day or two upon another pretence."[1]

The commencing paragraph of the Memorial is a sample of the righteous rhetoric to be employed:[2]—

"First, that if the Queen of Scots will stand to her further trial, and show herself miscontented, the Queen's Majesty cannot but notify to the world her guiltiness of the murder, and the rest of the foul crimes whereof, in very truth, she can *no wise discharge herself, as the matters are to be proved and maintained.* And though the Regent or any of his company shall be by her charged to be parties to the murder, and to her unlawful marriage, yet that is no discharge of her guiltiness."[3]

The fifth clause directs that the Queen of Scots be moved to allow of the education of her son in England, for which the bribe of the succession to the Crown is to be insinuated, "with various hints to move her not only to allow of it, but by all good means to sue for the same." If these reasons failed to move her, she was to be given to understand that, "unless she assent to these purposes, that will follow to her damage that can neither be liked of her, nor can be revoked, if the same be once put in execution."[4]

In order to quiet the conscience of his royal mistress, and satisfy the more squeamish members of her Council, Cecil also penned, and has left on record, "Four reasons to prove the Queen's Majesty's detaining of the Queen of Scots just:"—

1. "She is a lawful prisoner by good treaties." This can only allude to the secret covenants between Elizabeth and the Scotch traitors, whom she had supported in their intrigues and seditions against their native Sovereign.

2. "She may not depart until she have satisfied the wrong that she hath done to the Queen's Majesty, in open claiming of the Crown, and not making just recompence."

3. "Superiority over Scotland."

[1] The Queen's Majesty of England to Mr Vice-Chamberlain, 22d of December 1568. Printed in Goodall's Appendix, pp. 276, 277, 278.

[2] Ibid., p. 269. [3] Ibid., p. 274. [4] Ibid.

And lastly, which was intended to back the requisition of the Earl of Lennox for Mary's death,—"The Queen's Majesty is bound in conscience to answer the petitions of her subjects in matters of blood upon her subjects."[1]

The original draught of the cruel and insulting letter addressed by Queen Elizabeth to Mary, December 21, is also in Cecil's hand, and must be regarded, when read in connection with the instructions to Knollys for intimidation of the captive Queen, as part and parcel of the evidences of the project there unfolded, for compelling that unfortunate Princess to ratify her demission of her Crown to her infant son, and in reality transferring it to Elizabeth, by consenting that he should be brought into England and consigned to her tutelage. The following passage may serve as a specimen of the letter:[2]—

"Madame,—Whilst your cause hath been herein treated upon, we thought it not needful to write anything thereof unto you, supposing always that your Commissioners would thereof advertise as they saw cause; and now sithens they have broken this Conference, by refusing to make answer, as they say by your commandment, and for that purpose they have also required license to return to you. Although we think you shall by them perceive the whole proceedings, yet we cannot but let you understand, by these our letters, that as we have been very sorry of long time for your mishap and great trouble, so find we our sorrow doubled in beholding such things as are produced to prove yourself cause of the same. And our grief herein is also increased that we did not think at any time to have seen or heard such matters of so great appearance to charge and *loden* you. Nevertheless, both in friendship, nature, and justice, we are moved to cover these matters, and stay our judgment, and not to gather any sense hereof to your prejudice, before we may hear of your direct answer thereunto."

Now it must be plain to every person who has had time and opportunity for tracing the collusive practices between the English Cabinet and the Scotch conspirators, that had the evidences produced by the latter as proof of Mary's guilt been such as would have borne the test of the public investigation she challenged, there would have been no hesitation in taking her at her word. For had it been possible to substantiate by personal testimony, or even properly verified documents, the horrible charges against her, the

[1] State Paper MSS., December 22, in Cecil's hand.
[2] State Paper Office MS.

pride and policy of Elizabeth would have been gratified, and importantly served, by rendering Westminster Hall the arena for proving to the whole world that her younger and fairer rival, who equalled her in learning and accomplishments, and excelled her in literary genius and feminine grace, and whom a third of her subjects regarded as the rightful Queen of England, was a coarse fiend in angel's form, not only unmeet to govern, but unworthy to live. Could this have been done, the proceedings for Mary Stuart's disgrace would not have been confined within the walls of a committee-room, and to the pages of political libels.

MARY STUART.

CHAPTER XLVII.

SUMMARY.

Mary informed of the accusation put in by the Conspirators—Her spirited declaration—She repeats her request to be publicly heard in her own defence—Demands copies of the letters imputed to her—Knollys' taunting inuendos—Mary's command of temper—Lord Scroope and Knollys try to induce her to abdicate, and allow her son to be brought to England—Her firmness—Disappearance of Willie Douglas—He is discovered in an English jail—Mary obtains his liberation—Persevering instances of Elizabeth to induce her to resign her Crown—Mary declares she will die Queen of Scotland—Secret treaty of Elizabeth and Moray—Impression of the great Peers of England in Mary's favour—They desire her to be declared Elizabeth's successor—Elizabeth orders Mary to be removed from Bolton to Tutbury Castle—Mary's reluctance—Harsh measures enjoined—Moray beguiles Norfolk—His pretended affection for Queen Mary—Promises to restore her to her Crown—His perfidy—He sends Elizabeth letters alleged to have been written by Mary to her adherents—Secret communication between Mary and the Earl of Northumberland—His friendly messages—Letters and presents sent by Mary to him and his Countess—Northumberland's zeal for the Romish religion—Tries to break Mary's marriage with Norfolk—Mary's new suitor, Don John of Austria—Mary removed from Bolton to Tutbury by force—Miserable journey—Halt at Ripon—Mary's interview with Moray's agent, Sir Robert Melville—She is deceived by Moray's guileful professions of penitence—Once more she preserves his life—Hameling meets her on the road—She sends token and message to the Earl of Northumberland—Her letter to Cecil from Pontefract—She arrives at Rotherham—Lady Livingstone, too ill to proceed, is left there—Queen Mary attacked with dangerous symptoms next day on the road to Chesterfield—Compelled to stop—Lodged at Mr Foljambe's house.

In consequence of the deep snow, which had rendered the roads in that wild mountainous district of Yorkshire impassable without great danger both to man and horse,[1]

[1] Letter to Cecil, Dec. 15, 1568—State Paper Office MS.

Mary remained for many days of agonising suspense in ignorance of the proceedings at Westminster and Hampton Court. When, however, the long-impeded couriers of her Commissioners made their way to Bolton Castle, and she received intelligence of the accusation her fraternal foe and his creatures had exhibited against her, and that he had endeavoured to support it by producing the mysterious letters to which he had previously alluded in the Act of Parliament "anent her detention," she immediately ordered her Commissioners to renew the Conference, which she had, in her instructions of the 22d of November, directed them to break up, on account of the partiality shown to her disloyal subjects, unless she were permitted to the like privilege of access to Elizabeth's presence. "But to the effect our rebels may see they have not closed your mouths," writes she,[1] "ye may offer to *eik* [add] to your reply that which the addition deserves, made by the Earl of Moray and his complices to the pretended excuse and cloak of their wicked actions, falsehood, and disloyalty." She then repeats her demand to appear in person to confute the imposture of her accusers, provided they be not fortified and assisted by the Queen her good sister's Ministers. "Because," adds she, "we will not that our said good sister, nor any Prince in the world, should esteem that we think our reputation of so little value as to put the same in the hands of any living creature, so far as we may perceive; and albeit we *lippen* (confide) our person, life, and the hazard of our estate, to our said good sister, we should be loth she should think that we reserve not that which we hold dearest, which is our honour, and *is* deliberate to defend the same ourself, or at the least assist you therein, not doubting of your integrities towards us, and that ye have matter to confound the impudence of our traitors as well in this addition as ye did in that which was past at York."[2] As it suited not the policy of Eliza-

[1] Dec. 19, 1568—Goodall's Appendix.

[2] Queen Mary's Letter to her Commissioners, Dec. 19, 1568, Bolton. Printed in Goodall's Appendix, and Labanoff's Lettres de Marie Stuart, vol. ii.

beth's ministers that "the impudence of Mary's traitors should be confounded" by being confronted with their royal mistress, she had no other alternative than replying to their calumnious accusation by her Commissioners, or not replying to them at all.

A male Sovereign might have continued to stand on punctilios of royal etiquette, and paused to weigh the peril of compromising the dearly-bought independence of Scotland by condescending to respond, as a defendant, to an accusation from rebel subjects, in a cause submitted to the adjudication of the English Queen, who had manifested feelings of partiality in behalf of the latter sufficient to justify suspicion; but Mary, the child of impulse, waived all these considerations. Her honour had been impugned, and she unhesitatingly adopted the course which beseemed an honest woman, by directing her Commissioners to answer the accusation of her defamers in these simple and forcible words of denial:—

"We have received the Eik given in by the Earl of Moray and his complices, and where they have said therein, or at any time, 'that we knew, counselled, devised, or persuaded the murder of our husband,' they have falsely, traitorously, and *meschantly* lied, imputing unto us maliciously the crime whereof they themselves are authors, inventors, doers, and some of them proper executors."[1]

In refutation of their charge on the subject of Bothwell's trial and acquittal, and her marriage with him, she refers to her previous victorious answer at the Conference at York, proving that they, who now accused her of favouring him, had acted in confederacy with him, concealed his crimes from her, acquitted him by their own votes in Parliament, and combined illegally both to maintain him from further pursuit, and to accomplish the illegal marriage with her to which she had been, in consequence of that combination, compelled to condescend; they shamelessly making it, though their own doing, the pretext, immediately after its accomplishment, for deposing her, and seizing her plate, jewels, and the revenues of the Crown, into their own hands.

[1] Ibid.—Goodall's Appendix, p. 283.

"And whereas," continues Mary, with quaint but pathetic eloquence, "they charge us with unnatural kindness towards our son, alleging 'we intended to have caused him follow his father hastily;' howbeit, the natural love the mother bears to her only bairn is sufficient to confound them, and requires no other answer." What special pleader, versed in the subtleties of the law, and practised in the persuasive arts of rhetoric, ever carried conviction to the hearts of a jury in behalf of injured innocence, like this simple burst of maternity, with which the royal widow repels the cruel assertion of her fraternal supplanter and his accomplices? It has its historical parallel in the memorable appeal of another calumniated Queen, Marie Antoinette, to the mothers of France, in reply to the atrocious accusation of the monster Hébert.

After an indignant allusion to the manner in which the life of her infant, as well as her own, had been endangered at the assassination of Riccio, Mary sarcastically adds: "There is none of good judgment but may easily perceive their hypocrisy, how they would fortify themselves in our son's name till their tyranny were better established." Her conclusion is an evidence of the fearless spirit in which she was prepared to refute the forgeries of her enemies. "Ye shall desire," she writes to her Commissioners, "the inspection and *doubles* (meaning the copies) of all they have produced against us, and that we may see the alleged principal writings, *if they have any*, produced, and with God's grace we shall make sic answer thereto that our innocence shall be known to our good sister, and to all other Princes, and siclike shall charge them as authors and inventors of the said crime they would impute to us, and sufficiently prove the same."[1]

If the letters, contracts, and poetry, alleged by the Scotch conspirators to have been written by Queen Mary, had been genuine, copies of them would, as a matter of course, have been communicated to her Commissioners by the English Commissioners, in like manner as they had the accusation or Eik to Moray's former answer,

[1] Goodall's Appendix, p. 289.

being part and parcel of the business of the Conference, without waiting for the ceremony of being asked for them. That copies of these supposititious documents were refused notwithstanding the reiterated demands of Mary and her Commissioners, affords not only strong presumptions that they would not bear the test of legal discussion, but suggests shrewd suspicions of the motives of the umpire by whom they were withheld. Instead of being allowed to see what had been produced against her, Mary was urged by her keeper, Sir Francis Knollys, in obedience to the instructions of his royal mistress, to compound the business altogether by ratifying her forced abdication. His insulting condolences on the badness of her cause, and the impossibility of her vindicating herself from the charges that had been brought against her, and the insinuated necessity of her condescending to the political suicide suggested, in order to prevent worse consequences, formed the entertainment of her dismal Christmas at Bolton Castle, in the absence of her friendly hostess Lady Scroope, who, having been despotically driven from her own house, was awaiting her childbirth in a village lodging.

Knollys informs Queen Elizabeth,[1] "that he had received her letter of the 22d," the purport of which has already been explained, "together with a memorial of certain reasons to induce Queen Mary to yield to the demission of her Crown to her son;"—the manner in which he performed his commission must be related in his own words. "And according to your Majesty's order," writes he, "as soon as this Queen came abroad, entering into conference with her of the state of her cause, and desiring to know whether she would answer or not, and finding her in her old humour of denial,[2] I then began to say unto her 'that I did not marvel that she was not disposed to answer formally, but rather I thought her the

[1] Knollys to Queen Elizabeth, Bolton, Dec. 26, 1568. State Paper MS., inedited.

[2] Mary appears not to have considered it necessary to explain to Knollys that she had instructed her Commissioners to resume their suspended duties by delivering a denial of the accusation.

wiser woman, because it passed my capacity to see how by just defence she could disburthen herself of the crimes that had been laid against her;' whereunto she answered, 'Yes, she could.' 'Well,' said I, 'your Grace had need to look about you, for you do stand in a very hard case.'" Mary listened with calm contempt to this unprovoked impertinence; she did not even condescend to inform Knollys that she had written a week ago to her Commissioners renewing their commission, and instructing them to give the lie direct to her accusers, and charge them in plain terms with being themselves the authors of the crime they had laid to her charge; and, as the first step towards convicting them of their perjuries and false-witness, demanded copies of the letters they had imputed to her. But Knollys, in utter ignorance of the courageous spirit she had displayed, continued to taunt and vex her, according to the secret instructions he had received from his royal mistress, by insulting insinuations of her guilt, and the consequent hopelessness of her cause. "Then I began," pursues he, "to recite unto her what your Majesty had promised unto my Lord of Moray. 'Now,' said I, 'if your Grace shall deny to answer (as you have good reason thereto), you shall provoke the Queen my mistress to take you as condemned, and to publish the same to your utter disgrace and infamy, specially in England of all other places.' And after this sort I began to strike as great fear into her as I could, and at the first she answered stoutly, 'that she would make all other Princes to know how evil she was handled, coming upon trust into this realm. And,' saith she, 'I am sure the Queen will not condemn me unheard.' 'Yes,' said I, 'she will condemn you if you condemn yourself by not answering; and your not answering will cause the Queen to call to mind your injurious claiming and making title to the Crown of this realm to her prejudice;" —a menace more justly calculated to alarm the defenceless captive than anything that could be said in reference to the accusations of those who had been reduced, in the absence of all personal testimony, to the palpable shift of fabricating

letters in her name, which they dared not bring publicly forward, and of which they refused to submit copies to the investigation of her Commissioners.

Knollys next endeavoured, with feline softness, to lead her to the desired conclusion, according to the artful instructions he had received. "'But now,' said I, 'it were wise handling of your Grace if you could with courtesy and discreet behaviour *provoke* [induce] the Queen my mistress to save your honour, and to cause all accusations and writings that are to be showed against you to be committed to oblivion, the which I think you might, by offering to be content with the demission of your Crown and Government of Scotland to your son, and you to remain in England a convenient time.' And I showed her as many commodities as I could that might redound to her and to her son hereby, and how her son might be brought up and acquainted within this realm to no hindrance of their titles. But when she stuck much upon the judgment of the world, that by this means might condemn her, I told her that 'I spake this only of good-will;' and I desired her 'not to utter this speech to my prejudice, and for the matter thereof she might think better at her pleasure;' and thus I left her,"—in order, it appears, to prepare his coadjutor to second his treacherous counsel.

"Now, at afternoon," proceeds Knollys, "she began to confer with my Lord Scroope, and she told him what advice I had given her herein; 'and surely,' saith she, 'I think he doth not thus advise me to the intent I should be entrapped and abused.'" Poor Mary! generous and candid herself, even to a fault, she knew not how to suspect in another perfidy of which she was incapable. But natures differ strangely, and the world-hardened courtier records without remorse or shame the confidence she had expressed in his sincerity; perhaps he plumed himself on having acted his part with such consummate skill as to persuade her that, notwithstanding his cruel insinuations of the difficulty she would find in clearing herself from the charges of her enemies, he was very

much her friend. "And my Lord Scroope," continues he, "being made privy by me beforehand, did also very earnestly persuade her in friendly manner accordingly; and, although she is too wise hastily to be persuaded in such a case as this is, yet both my Lord Scroope and I are in some hope that if the Bishop of Ross, at his coming, will earnestly persuade her hereunto, that she will yield therein. But if she shall grow stiff and unpliant in this behalf, then the only way to bring her to, is to remove her forthwith by your Majesty's severe commandment; or, how toward soever she be, to remove her forthwith is good surety, and will not hinder the cause. But an she perceive your Majesty to be tender and soft in dealing with her, then would she be too stout to be persuaded by any man."

"Shall I," she asked indignantly, "resign for those rebels that have so shamefully belied me?" "No," said Scroope, "your Grace may do it in respect of her Majesty's advice;" and then both deceitfully plied her with sundry plausible reasons to induce her to condescend to what was required of her. "Well," replied she, "I will make no answer to it for two days," and so departed to her bed.[1]

The result of her deliberations was to write again to her Commissioners, commanding "them to reiterate her denunciation of her accusers as the contrivers, and some of them the actual perpetrators, of her husband's murder," and to demand copies of the writings they pretended to be hers. Such untruthful representations have been made of her conduct in regard to the forged letters, that it will be proper to quote her own words: "Ye shall require our said good sister that copies be given you thereof to the effect that they may be answered particularly, that she and all the world may know they are no less unshame-faced and false liars, and that, by their so manifest unlawful actions, she and all other Christian Princes may esteem them traitors."[2]

Mary's uneasiness at this painful crisis was augmented

[1] Knollys to Cecil, Dec. 31, 1568—State Paper MS., and printed in Goodall's Appendix.

[2] Queen Mary's Letter to her Commissioners, Jan. 2, 1568-1569—Labanoff, and Goodall's Appendix.

by her anxiety on account of the mysterious disappearance of young Willie Douglas, whom she had despatched on a mission of some importance several weeks previously, and who had never been heard of since. Her grateful sense of the service she had performed for her, and the affectionate interest she took in his welfare, induced her to add to the above instructions to her Commissioners an earnest paragraph, mentioning "that he was *tint*, or missing, immediately after he had gotten his passport from her good sister," and her fears that, out of revenge for the good and loyal service he had performed in delivering her from her captivity in Lochleven Castle, he had been murdered by James Drysdale, the Laird of Lochleven's servant, who had threatened "to wash his hands in his heart's blood, and, if he had the opportunity, to plant a whinger in her heart also;" she therefore "begs this may be mentioned to Queen Elizabeth, and diligent inquiry made after Willie."[1] This might have proved of little avail if she had not written also to La Mothe Fénélon, and the members of the royal family of France, entreating their good offices in his behalf. The French ambassador exerted himself so effectually that, at the end of a month, Willie was traced to a jail in the north of England, where he had been incarcerated. His liberation was at last obtained by the persevering intercessions of his royal mistress.[2]

Mary's courier, Borthwick, arrived at Bolton on the last day of December 1568, bringing letters of some importance from the Bishop of Ross. She remained in her own chamber the whole of that day, perusing the letters he had brought, and conferring with him, the Lord Boyd, one of her Commissioners, who had obtained license to visit her, and Raulet, her faithful French secretary and decipherer. In the evening, when she came forth, her deportment was observed to be more cheerful, and she repeated with lively satisfaction various friendly observations and

[1] Queen Mary's Letter to her Commissioners, Jan. 2, 1568-1569—Labanoff, and Goodall's Appendix.

[2] Despatches of La Mothe Fénélon, vol. i. p. 133-134.

favourable promises, which, she said, the Queen her good sister had made to the Bishop of Ross, Elizabeth having said "she would have Mary a queen still, though her son should be associated in the regal title with her, and the Earl of Moray to carry on the government by her authority in their joint names;" "and this," observed Mary to Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Scroope, "is better for me than your persuasions do tend unto."[1] Knollys on this actually took the liberty of lecturing his royal mistress for having allowed her better feelings to counteract the harsh policy dictated by her Ministers.[2]

"If your Majesty," writes he, "have said, it is too late to call it back again. But she looks for more favour than this comes unto, howsoever she is encouraged thereunto; and she will bide all extremities rather than she will look back from the hope that is once given her: and this you may be sure of, that until you have sent away the Bishop of Ross in such despair, that either this Queen must be content with such resolution as you shall give him, or else that your Majesty will proceed against her, and forcibly maintain my Lord of Moray's government, you shall never bring her to a resolute yielding, for she hath courage to hold out as long as any foot of hope be left unto her; and until she shall see a severe order and commandment for her removing, she will stick the faster, in the hope of your mildness. Now, as your Majesty's judgment must needs be ruled by such affections and passions of your mind as happen to have dominion over you, so yet the resolutions digested by the deliberate consultations of your most faithful counsellors, ought ever to be had in most price in these so weighty affairs. This Queen seems to think that your Majesty is moved to deal more favourably with her by reason of a general answer that she sent your Majesty by her Commissioners, even about the same time that the Bishop of Ross lastly upon Christmas even came unto you. . . . . But I suppose it were better policy for your Majesty to disclose your favour to us before you do disclose it to the Bishop of Ross, for he will convert all that he hears or can gather by presumptions to harden this Queen to hold off, the better to make her bargain with your Majesty. This day, when she told us of this general answer opened to your Majesty lately as some ground and cause of your favour toward her, although yesternight we constantly stood to our former persuasions (to our great discredit with her), because we were so directed; yet to-day we were fain to say, 'that as we meant uprightly by our persuasions private, yet, if it should fall out better for her than we had persuaded, we would be very glad that we had so erred. Nevertheless, we did bid her take heed that she beguiled not herself by wrong constructions.' But howsoever it happens, I see that it was far easier to persuade this Queen to yield before the Bishop of Ross's letters came hither than hereafter it will be found; for our persuasions are

[1] Knollys to Queen Elizabeth—Haynes' Burleigh Papers.
[2] Ibid., p. 499.

contemptible here, if they be not thoroughly backed and maintained at your Majesty's Court." [1]

Thus, then, was the haughty Sovereign of England schooled, by her own vice-chamberlain, for having dared to give utterance to a few friendly words regarding her unfortunate kinswoman; so true it is that when women reign men rule. It is a curious fact, too, that Elizabeth, with all her habitual caution and dissimulation, was occasionally found as inconveniently communicative as her royal cousin, the impulsive and imprudently frank Mary Stuart; witness the following serious complaints which were preferred by the Scotch conspirators through Randolph to Cecil, which, though more than two years after date, are quoted in further proof of their occult confederacy in the plot whereby Mary's fall was effected, the letter being written when Randolph was in Berwick, just before the birth of Mary's son:—

"I am forced to disclose that unto your Honour which neither by pen nor word shall come to any living man's knowledge by me, saving to your Honour's self, to have that remedied in time, if it be possible, or so to be used by your wisdom that whatsoever I make your Honour privy to, it may pass no further than your own knowledge. The matter is this: My friends yonder complain divers times that such intelligences as I write from hence out of Scotland, as they think, to the Queen's Majesty my Sovereign, are returned back unto their Queen, sometimes by word, sometimes by writing. They know that this cometh not from your Honour, nor from any of those to whom I commonly write of any such matters (which only are my Lord of Leicester, my Lord of Bedford, and your Honour), but even from the Queen's Majesty's own mouth, who, at the last time that *Mr Melvin* was there, left very little untold unto him of all that at any time I had written; and now of late hath made him privy to certain things written in cipher which concern the Earl of Argyll and my Lord of Murray, 'as though they both would *boste* (threaten or defy) the Queen's Majesty (Mary), upon which her Majesty (Elizabeth) called them rebels pretending reformation of religion.' This, an't like your Honour, is come to their ears. They are sorry that her Majesty should so think of them. They think me to have dealt very unadvisedly and uncircumspectly, that have not dealt more to their surety than this way to hazard them again. Wherefore, though in good-will towards me, they *are* as they *were*, yet they require me to be better advised whom I trust with either the sight of their letters, or communicating such knowledge as cometh unto me; and they think themselves happy if her Majesty (Elizabeth) have not had the like talk with other than Melvin's self, of whom they are assured that he will them no hurt." [2]

[1] Knollys to Queen Elizabeth—Haynes' Burleigh Papers.
[2] Randolph to Cecil, 17th of June 1566; Haynes, 449.

This "*Melvin,*" as Randolph calls the man, on whose discretion and goodwill the confederate traitors, who thus betrayed their Queen and country to the English Sovereign and her Ministers, could so surely rely, was at that time Queen Mary's ambassador at the Court of England, no other than the plausible Sir Robert Melville, who persuaded her to sign the deeds of abdication, when she was disposed to resist unto death, by pretending "they would be of no effect, as she was a prisoner under fear of her life," and who came to her in her English prison at Bolton during the Conference at York, to steal her confidence with lip-deep professions of loyalty and sympathy, while treacherously acting the while as the tool of her usurping brother, whose spy and agent he was from first to last.

Mary's Commissioners, on the 7th of January, in obedience to her instructions, made a formal demand, in her name, for copies of the letters the Earl of Moray and his colleagues had shown to the English Commissioners, pretending they were written by her. Elizabeth said "she would take time to consider the demand, but thought it would be best for some arrangement to be made, whereby her good sister, the Queen of Scotland, who considered she had cause to be miscontented with her subjects, and they disliking her government, might live a private and peaceful life in England, by resigning her Crown to her son." The Bishop of Ross replied, "that albeit the Queen his mistress would, to pleasure her Majesty, listen to some good treaty of agreement with her subjects, notwithstanding the great offences committed by them against her, she would never consent to demit her Crown, and had given him special command to declare the same in case it were proposed."[1]

Elizabeth pressed him, and the other two Commissioners present, to write to the Queen their mistress to propose it. This they at first absolutely refused to do; but having finally consented, Mary wrote in reply: "As to the demission of my Crown, touching which you have written to me,

[1] Goodall's Appendix, p. 300.

trouble me about it no more; for I am resolutely determined rather to die, and that the last word I shall speak in life will be that of a Queen of Scotland."[1]

Nor did she confine her declaration to the mere assertion of woman's will, but subjoined reasons for her decision worthy of the representative of the royal line whose sceptre had been her fatal inheritance. "The Commissioners of both parties," says she, "are assembled in this country on the dispute between me and certain of my subjects; the eyes of every one are fixed on the issue of this convention, in order to form judgment thereby which is in the right and which is in the wrong; and if it should be seen, that, after having come into this realm to demand succour, making complaint of having been unjustly driven from my own, I should be brought to yield to my adversaries all they could demand, what would the generality say but that I have been my own judge, and have condemned myself? Hence it would follow that all the reports my adversaries have circulated of me would be held for veritable facts, and I should be regarded with horror, especially by the people of this Isle. When, too, it shall be shown to such of the nobility as have sided with those subjects of mine rather than with me, that I have willed to make demission in favour of my son, who is not old enough to be able to govern, instead of thinking me innocent of that which has been imputed to me, they would put a contrary interpretation thereon, and say that it was from the fear of being publicly accused, and that feeling myself guilty, and having a bad cause, I preferred compounding to pleading, and by that shift escaped being condemned."[2] After a brief summary of the evils that might result to Scotland, herself, and her child, in the event of her condescending to adopt the course prescribed to her by the English Sovereign, she thus concludes: "These perils are evident; therefore I am resolved not lightly to cast away that which God has given me, being

[1] Declaration of Queen Mary, presented by her Commissioners, Jan. 9, 1568-1569—State Paper Office MS., printed in Goodall's Appendix, and Labanoff, in the original French. [2] Ibid.

determined rather to die Queen than live as a private woman."[1]

This right royal declaration of her captive cousin was presented to Elizabeth on Sunday, January 9th, by the Bishop of Ross and his fellow Commissioners. Convinced, by the courageous and dignified tone in which Mary had declined submitting to the unjustifiable demand that had been so perseveringly pressed upon her, that the principal objects for which the Scotch conspirators had been goaded into bringing forward their accusation, namely, the extinction of the political importance of her hated rival, and the annexation of Scotland to England, by the surrender of the infant Prince, were unattainable; conscious also, as her refusal to allow Mary to have copies of them sufficiently proves, that the papers produced by Moray in substantiation of the charges exhibited against his captive sister and Sovereign would not bear the test of a calm investigation, Elizabeth directed Cecil to break up the Conference immediately. This he did on the morrow, January 10th, with the following declaration to Moray and his coadjutors: "That forasmuch as there had been nothing deduced against them as yet that might impair their honour and allegiances, so, on the other part, *there had been nothing sufficient produced nor shown by them against their Sovereign, whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the Queen her good sister, for anything she had yet seen.*"[2]

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this declaration, as bearing upon the falsity of the silver-casket letters. These letters had been produced and examined by the Commissioners of Elizabeth, having been distinctly asserted by Moray and his coadjutors to be the production of Mary herself, and, if genuine, could not fail to affect her character in the highest degree; and yet, without hearing Mary in her defence, or receiving any explanation whatsoever as

[1] Declaration of Queen Mary, presented by her Commissioners, Jan. 9, 1568-1569—State Paper Office MS., printed in Goodall's Appendix, and Labanoff, in the original French.

[2] Goodall's Appendix, p. 303. Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 227. Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots. Bell's Life of Mary Queen of Scots.

to these letters, this declaration was made at a time when the genuineness of the said letters was clearly in issue, and in a manner that leaves no doubt that Elizabeth, Cecil, and the other English Commissioners, were convinced that they were forgeries. This declaration was no hasty or ill-considered statement; it was the deliberate judgment of Elizabeth, pronounced by her Minister after hearing one side only. Against that very side this was done, and by a Queen and Minister whom no one will ever accuse of partiality for Mary. How clearly, then, must Elizabeth and her Ministers have been satisfied of the falsity of these documents before they could have made such an announcement!—an announcement that must have for ever precluded them from again bringing forward these letters against Mary. Nor ought it ever to be forgotten that this declaration was made by parties—the only parties indeed—who had inspected the letters in question, and had heard all the evidence and all the specious arguments that even Moray, Morton, and Lethington, with Makgill and Wood to counsel and prompt them with legal subtleties, could adduce in support of their bold fabrications, and that, too, without anything on the part of Mary except an indignant denial of their authenticity. Easy is it to see why copies of these writings were denied to Mary: every one was convinced, on the showing of those who propounded them alone, that they could not be genuine. If it be said that Elizabeth's declaration acquits not only Mary, but Moray and his confederates, and that it was a politic scheme resorted to in order to bring the parties once more into concord, without stopping to ask what judgment ought to be pronounced on those who deliberately made a false statement for such purposes, it is enough to say that Elizabeth did not for a moment abandon her endeavours to obtain her object with Mary; but, foiled in this quarter, turned to other, if not baser, arts to effectuate her purpose. How easy it would have been to have broken up the Conferences in other terms, and how advantageous it would have been to Elizabeth to have retained such a hold on Mary as these letters, *if genuine*, would have at all times afforded her, any one can perceive. Neither Elizabeth nor

Cecil, however, dared to sanction the idea that these documents in any way affected Mary's character; on the contrary, they emphatically pronounced "that nothing had been *seen* that in any manner impeached that character;" yet they had seen and heard all that could support the charge of Mary having written these letters. Such are a few of the many observations that arise upon this declaration, a declaration which ought for ever to have consigned the parties who produced such evidence to well-merited ignominy as the utterers, if not the fabricators, of false evidence, and prevented any one who had any regard for his own character from ever afterwards asserting that such documents were genuine. Elizabeth had in reality too much regard for the opinion of the world to disgrace herself by venturing to pronounce her royal cousin guilty on no better evidence than had been produced by persons whose motives for belying their injured Sovereign were palpable to all but the wilfully blind.

The Florentine Ambassador at the Court of France, Commander Petrucci, informs the Grand Duke his master, "that Queen Elizabeth had entered into a secret covenant with the Earl of Moray, promising that, if he could substantiate his accusation against his royal sister, and put the infant Prince and the principal fortresses in Scotland into her hands, she would obtain his legitimation, and get him appointed heir to the throne of Scotland at the death of the said Prince, Queen Mary's son;"[1] a bribe that opened the dazzling prospective of the English succession also, as the nearest male descendant of Henry VII., provided the disqualifying stigma of his birth could be set aside by Act of Parliament. "The removal of the principal obstacle to this arrangement, the Queen of Scotland, was necessary, and it was resolved to accomplish her death under the colour of justice. Her rebel subjects were enjoined to accuse her of her husband's murder, and this was accordingly done with so much vehemence, and so much favour shown to them in the matter, that her condemnation was expected, and she

[1] Printed by Prince Labanoff in Italian, from the original document in the Archives di Medici.

was accounted a dead woman. But God, not willing to abandon her in her distress, gave such force to the truth and eloquence of Lord Herries, by whom she was defended, that no one doubted that she was innocent, and her accusers guilty of the crime they had imputed to her. The Queen of England was so greatly astonished and annoyed at this, that she could not conceal her vexation; and the rebels being much confounded, and not knowing what else to say or do, resorted to challenging and giving the lie to Lord Herries for what he had said against the bastard (Moray), and desiring him to prove the same by arms; to which Herries answered, 'that all he had said was true, and he was ready to prove it by the combat,'[1] which he offered to all suspected of the crime who were willing to encounter that test; but to this offer no one has chosen to respond, well knowing that it would lead to inconvenient discoveries."

All the talent, both diplomatic and literary, all the influence, all the subtlety of the governing powers of Scotland and England combined, had been arrayed against Mary Stuart, but her adversaries had not succeeded in establishing the accusations they had brought against her.

So far from suffering in the estimation of the great nobles who had assisted at the Conferences, Mary Stuart, as the result proved, acquired a party among them strong enough to shake the throne of Elizabeth. The grossness of the fabrications the usurpers of her government had exhibited as the only proofs they had to show of her guilt, opened the eyes of many independent English peers of both religions to the falsity of accusations of which no better evidence could be produced. Norfolk and Arundel, the premier Duke and Earl of England; Northumberland and Westmoreland, one the representative of the Percies, the other of the Nevilles; Pembroke, the brother-in-law of the nursing-mother of the Reformation, Queen Katharine Parr; the Earl of Sussex, and the Lord Clinton,

[1] This was in allusion to the challenges which were exchanged between Lord Lindsay and Lord Herries, November 22. They are printed in Goodall's Appendix.

were convinced of Mary's innocence and the falsehood of her accusers. They contended "that, as a matter of justice, and for the honour of England, the Queen of Scots, having frankly and fearlessly confided her cause to the arbitration of their Sovereign, ought to be replaced in her royal estate by her appointment;" and they took that opportunity of urging her recognition as the rightful successor to the crown of England, in the event of Elizabeth leaving no issue.[1]

Norfolk, emboldened by the daily increasing impression in Mary's favour, had spoken so plainly and frequently on this subject, that Elizabeth observed with sarcastic bitterness, "the Queen of Scotland will never want an advocate as long as the Duke of Norfolk lives."[2] Norfolk replied "that he had no intention of offending her, his natural Sovereign, but was minded to serve and honour her according to his duty, for the term of her natural life, but after her the Queen of Scots, as most lawful in his opinion, and for the eschewing of civil wars and great bloodshed that might otherwise fall out." "Albeit," proceeds our authority,[3] "the Queen of England liked not this language, she would not seem to find fault with it for the time."

To have touched so popular and influential a nobleman as Norfolk at that dangerous crisis, would have been to set the eastern counties in a flame, and provide a war-cry for the disaffected throughout the realm. But Mary, the exciting cause of Elizabeth's jealous apprehensions, was in her power, and the spirited refusal of that unfortunate Princess to ratify her compulsory abdication, and allow her son to be brought into England, was avenged by a peremptory order from Elizabeth for her immediate removal from Bolton Castle to the cold gloomy fortress of Tutbury in Staffordshire. Mary vehemently protested against this unwelcome change, declaring she was a free Princess, and would not be removed farther from her own realm; but her objections were unavailing. "More than wonted rigour," writes an attaché

[1] Reports of La Mothe-Fénélon and of the Spanish Ambassador—Lesley's Negotiations. Defence of Queen Mary's honour—Jebb.
[2] Memorials of the Howard Family, by the late Mr Howard of Corby.
[3] Sir James Melville's Memoirs.

of the French embassy,[1] "has been shown since the last few days to the Queen of Scotland; it is to compel her to resign her Crown, and they have threatened her, if she makes any resistance to going where it has been determined to send her (which in truth grieves her very much), that they will lift her up, and her female attendant with her, in her bed, and remove them by force in a litter, closely shut up, and fastened with a lock and key. She has sent to the Sieur de la Mothe, for him to make a remonstrance, which he will do the first time he can see this Queen Elizabeth." Far different was the treatment of Moray and his confederates, whom Elizabeth had honoured both with private audiences, a farewell reception, and dismissed with public tokens of regard. She graciously promised to maintain Moray in the Regency, and guerdoned him for the acceptable service he had performed with a present of five thousand pounds. Nevertheless he and his company continued to linger in the purlieus of Hampton Court, not daring to commence their homeward journey even with the armed escort furnished by their royal patroness; for such was the odium they had excited by their conduct to their Sovereign, that they were marked for popular vengeance by her enthusiastic partisans in the northern counties, through which their route to Scotland lay. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, in particular, who had been, as already noticed, especially summoned to give their attendance at the Conference, where the contents of the silver casket exhibited by Moray were discussed, had been so ineffably disgusted, both with the treason and the traitor, that they had determined to cut him and his company off, with as little regard to the forms of law as had been shown by them in their cold-blooded bond for the slaughter of David Riccio. Northallerton was the place where it was intended they should be intercepted and slain. Moray received intelligence not only of this design, but that a series of ambushes would be laid in his way, in every track by

[1] Secret Report of M. de la Vergne to the Queen-mother of France, written in cipher, and sent with the despatches of La Mothe Fénélon, vol. i. p. 169.

which it was possible for him to reach the Scottish frontier; and even if by scarcely less than miracle he should escape these perils, still more imminent awaited him across the Border, for all Liddesdale, Dumfriesshire, and beyond the English boundary in Berwickshire, were burning to avenge their Sovereign's wrongs, and ready to receive him on the points of their spears. Thus not less than three hundred miles, which, under existing circumstances, he knew would be "dead-man's land" to him and his company, lay between them and Edinburgh. Moray, however, glided out of all difficulties and dangers with his usual serpentine adroitness. He addressed himself to the Duke of Norfolk, through their mutual friend Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, with professions of penitence and regret for the course to which, he said, "he had been reluctantly driven by the arts and subtle dealing of his associates in treason, declared himself weary of the position he occupied, and desirous of a reconciliation with his royal sister and Sovereign, and coalescing with her party for restoring her to her throne." The credulous lover caught at the bait, and overlooking the fact of having been duped and betrayed by Moray during the Conferences at York, consented to see and confer with him once more.

A private meeting took place between them in the park at Hampton Court, at which Moray, after repeating his deceitful professions of penitence and affection for Mary, protesting "that she was the creature he loved best on earth, and wished most honour to," declared "that it was his intention, on his return to Scotland, to propose a general convention of the nobles, for the purpose of commissioning deputies to the Queen of England, requesting her to make a perfect agreement between their Queen and them, and to restore her to them, as the whole Estates of Scotland would gladly receive her again. This, on his faith and honour, he engaged to do, provided that he and all who had offended her were assured of her forgiveness, and restoration to her favour;"[1] adding, with consummate art, "that there was a fear, if she returned to Scotland with accustomed liberty to choose a husband," not that she would send for Bothwell

[1] Lesley's Negotiations. Melville's Memoirs.

back, but "that she might join herself in marriage with some great Prince beyond the seas, of France, Spain, or the house of Austria, who would avenge the injuries which she had received, and press her to alter the established religion; therefore, to avoid such inconveniences, he wished to have her marry the Duke of Norfolk, whom he loved and favoured above any of the English nobles, by reason of the familiar friendship that had been of old between them two, and the many benefits Norfolk had been the means of his procuring at the Queen of England's hands, especially the good entertainment he had received during his exile. Moreover they were both professors of the same religion, which he trusted Queen Mary might be led, through Norfolk's good persuasions, to embrace." "She," Moray added, "had been in her former marriages troubled with children, young proud fools, and furious men," meaning King Francis, Darnley, and Bothwell,[1] "and now her subjects would be happy to have a wise man joined to her, more especially the Duke of Norfolk, whom they would gladly receive in preference to one of their own nation."[2] Norfolk, too easily deceived, entered into covenant with the arch-traitor once more, and explained his hopes and expectation of wedding Queen Mary, with the goodwill of the most ancient and honourable members of the English nobility.[3] "Earl Moray," said he in conclusion, "thou hast Norfolk's life in thy hands;"[4] an observation prophetic of the result of misplaced confidence.

Norfolk both wrote himself to Queen Mary, and requested the most influential nobles of her party at the English Court to advise her to accept Moray's overtures for pardon and reconciliation, "to give good answer to his message; and, in hope he would keep his promise of becoming the instrument of her restoration and the accomplishment of their marriage, to cause all rigour to be stopped on her part against him in Scotland.[5] Moray employed one of his most trusted counsellors to discuss the matter with his royal

[1] Lesley's Negotiations. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., and Melville.
[4] Letter from the Earl of Moray to Cecil—Robertson's Appendix.
[5] Lesley's Negotiations.

sister's principal adviser, Lesley Bishop of Ross, and requested him "to inform her of his good mind and intention."[1] "I advertised her," records Lesley, "that such things had been spoken to me, but always I referred the certain assurance of his good mind to be declared by his own messenger; for even then I suspected the Earl's meaning not to be sound, as it seemed by his word, which I told ofttimes to the Duke and noblemen, as also to his mediator who dealt with me in his behalf, as the same proved over true in effect."[2] Moray informed the Duke of Norfolk through Lygon, how the Spanish Ambassador had secretly sounded him on the subject of a marriage between Queen Mary and Don John of Austria. On which Norfork caused his brother-in-law, Lord Lumley, to get it mentioned to Elizabeth, in the hope that her fear of such an alliance might induce her to favour his own projected union with the royal captive.[3]

At the very time Moray was making deceitful professions of penitence and promises to atone, as far as he could, to his injured sister and Sovereign, for the evil he had wrought her, he was endeavouring to exasperate Queen Elizabeth against her, by the communication of certain letters, "which," he said, "had been intercepted by his people,[4] addressed to the Lord of Arbroath and others, in Mary's name, filled with the bitterest complaints of Elizabeth's perfidious conduct during the Conferences, and stating it "to be the result of a secret league between the rebel party and Cecil their confederate, for depriving herself and her son, not only of the Crown of Scotland in Moray's favour, who was to be made capable of succeeding at the death of the infant Prince, but of their prospective rights to that of England, by a conspiracy in favour of the Earl of Hertford, who was to marry Cecil's daughter and govern in the name of his infant son by Lady Katharine Gray: that her son was to be brought to England, and nothing but a lamentable tragedy anticipated in regard to him; and that Moray at his death was to hold the kingdom of Scotland

[1] Lesley's Negotiations. [2] Ibid.
[3] Murdin, 42. [4] Labanoff, vol. ii.

as a fief of England, and deliver up the principal fortresses to Englishmen: that meantime both persuasions and threats had been used to persuade her to resign her Crown, but she would not condescend to so unhappy and unlawful a design."[1]

These letters were not in French, but an English imitation of Scotch. They were undated and unsigned; but as they assumed to be written by Queen Mary, and contained, among some vain imaginings, much that was true, Elizabeth was highly exasperated. She had already, on receiving Mary's courageous refusal to abdicate, issued a peremptory mandate for her to be transported to Tutbury Castle by force, if she refused to go voluntarily; and the vindictive feelings naturally excited by the bitter comments on her conduct contained in these letters, confirmed her in this harsh determination. She wrote to Sir Francis Knollys, expressing the great displeasure the perusal of these letters had given her, but instructed him not to discuss the matter to Queen Mary till she should be out of Bolton Castle, when he was to show her the copies, with a stern message from her, demanding "the names of those by whose advice she had written such false and offensive things of her and others."[2]

Unconscious of the storm that had been stirred up, Mary in the mean time addressed the following frank and dignified expostulation to Elizabeth:[3] "I came to you in my trouble for succour and support, on the faith of the assurance you had made me, that I might reckon upon you for every assistance in my necessity, and for this reason I refrained from applying for other aid to friends, relatives, and ancient allies, relying solely on your promised favour. I have never attempted, either by word or deed, aught that might give cause for complaint to you; yet, to my unspeakable regret, I see my conduct misrepresented, and falsely construed, but I hope God, with time, the father of truth, will manifest and make known to you the sincerity of my intentions. Meanwhile I am treated so harshly that I cannot comprehend whence pro-

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. [2] Robertson's Appendix.
[3] January 22. Printed in the original French in Labanoff, ii. 281.

ceeds the extreme indignation which it appears you have conceived against me, in return for the confidence I have placed in you above all other Princes." [1]

She thus mildly alludes to the insulting observations contained in the letter addressed to her by Elizabeth on the subject of Moray's accusation: "I cannot but deplore my evil fortune, seeing you have been pleased not only to deny me your presence, causing me to be declared unworthy of it by your nobles, but suffered me also to be torn to pieces by my rebels without making them reply to what I had alleged against them; neither allowing me to have copies of their false accusations, nor opportunity to disprove them; permitting them to retire with a decree virtually absolving them, and confirming them in their usurped pretended regency, and covertly throwing the blame on me, by condemning me unheard, detaining my Ministers, and ordering me to be removed by force, without being informed what has been resolved on my affairs, why I am to be sent to another place, when I shall be allowed to depart, how I am to be treated, nor for what purpose I am detained—all support denied, and my requests refused. All these things, together with other little discourtesies, such as not permitting me to receive news from my relatives in France, nor from my servants on my private affairs; interdicting anew all communication with Scotland, and refusing to let me give commission to any of my people, or to send my letters to you by them, distress me so much, and, to tell you the truth, make me so timid and irresolute, that I know not how to proceed; nor can I resolve to obey so sudden an order to remove, without first receiving some intelligence from my Commissioners. Not that this place is more agreeable to me than any other that it may please you to appoint, when you shall have made me acquainted with your goodwill towards me, and what is intended. In this, Madam, I entreat you to believe I mean no offence, but the natural care I owe to myself and my people to learn for what end, before thus lightly disposing of myself, I mean with my own consent; for I am in your power, and you can, in my despite, com-

[1] January 22. Printed in the original French in Labanoff, ii. 281.

mand even the lowest of your subjects to sacrifice me, without my being able to do anything but appeal to God and yourself, for other reliance I have none; and thank God, I am not so foolish as to suppose that your subjects would concern themselves in the affairs of a poor forlorn foreign Princess, who, next to God, seeks your aid alone; and if my enemies tell you anything to the contrary, they are false, and deceive you."[1]

Elizabeth's ministers had, indeed, made it their principal study to persuade their royal mistress that Mary's real business in England was to contest the crown with her. Sir Henry Norris, the English ambassador in France, wrote to Cecil "that the Provost Marshal of Paris had sought a private interview with him for the purpose of telling him 'to warn the Queen's Majesty that she did hold the wolf that should devour her, and that it was conspired between the Pope, the King of Spain, and the French King, that the Queen's Majesty Elizabeth should be destroyed, in order that the Queen of Scots should succeed her.'"[2]

Cecil's correspondence with Norris during the Conferences is penned with consummate art, for the palpable purpose of being exhibited in order to produce an impression in the Court of France that Mary was guilty. But to those who have traced his secret confederacy with her usurping brother and his coadjutors, in her defamation, and are aware that he had been, ever since the preceding June, in possession of copies, in broad Scotch, of the abominable letters which her false accusers pretended Mary had written to Bothwell in French, and that he had endorsed, with his own hand, extracts of the foulest passages drawn from these surreptitious documents to serve as evidence for her condemnation, how sickening is the affectation of surprise he expresses to his colleague "at the foul matter that had been brought to light during the proceedings in the Painted Chamber at Westminster,"[3] and his asseveration "that he never thought to have seen such proofs of her wickedness

[1] January 22. Printed in the original French in Labanoff, ii. 281.
[2] Haynes' Burleigh Papers.
[3] Cabala, folio edition.

as had been there exhibited."[1] One confidential letter in that series betrays his deadly malice against poor Mary, in right godly phraseology, with here and there a passage in cipher, implying things which might have had perchance too ugly an appearance in plain words.[2]

Nothing can afford stronger presumptive evidence of the complicity of the English sovereign and her premier in the conspiracy of Mary's ministers for the assassination of Darnley, than the bold manner in which Sir James Balfour, one of the principals in that mysterious crime, writes to his friend Cecil, nearly five years afterwards, requiring "him and the Queen's Majesty to interpose their influence and authority to protect him and his brethren," one of whom was Provost of the house of Kirk-of-Field, "from the imminent peril of being brought to trial for the murder. Your Lordship," he writes, "remembers I shew you upon what occasion I entered in your fellowship. . . . . My petitions are but to have surety to myself, my brethren, and servants (which, by my occasion, *melled* [meddled] in the last troubles), of lands, lives, goods, offices, and possessions. . . . . The second cause is touching the deferring and suspending of the pursuit for the King's father's murder. . . . Confiding, nevertheless, that being indifferently tried, we may abide the rigour of the laws, therefore we have desired the pursuit to be deferred for certain years, to the effect that, in the mean time, the noblemen which voted when I nor my brethren durst not for fear of our lives repair to make our defences, may have time to and commodity to make our defences. . . . And will effectuously desire and pray your Lordship by your own letters, if ye find that sufficient, or failing thereof, that ye will procure your Sovereign's letters to be direct with expedition to the Regent's grace and Council, willing them that there will be no difficulties, doubt, or delay used in giving surety to them that shall yield their obedience to the King. . . . In deferring and suspending the pursuit of the King's father's murder for certain years." In conclusion, he observes, "that he has no other fear than that others seeing his hand-

[1] Cabala, folio edition. [2] Ibid. p. 125.

ling may have less inclination to follow his trade," and takes "God to witness that if any inconveniences arise in consequence, the fault must not be imputed to him, but doubts not that her Majesty and his Lordship will think well of the matter and do their part, so that he obtains the surety he requires."[1]

During the period of Mary's residence at Bolton Castle, an active correspondence was going on between her and the Earl of Northumberland. This was commenced three weeks after her arrival by the Earl sending a gentleman of the name of Hameling to her with a secret message, to assure her she should have his service in anything he could do for her, at the same time informing her "that he had a goodly gelding for her if she would condescend to accept it from him." Hameling was privately presented to the royal captive by John Livingstone while she was hunting in the park. She received his message graciously, and desired him to thank the Earl of Northumberland in her name, but to say 'that she lacked no horse, and would not have one from him, lest it should excite suspicion.'"[2] The next day she sent a diamond ring to Hameling by Livingstone for the Earl of Northumberland, and a letter; also a pair of gold beads and perfume for the Countess, which had been sent to herself by the Pope. Hameling returned in a few days to Bolton with letters to Queen Mary from the Earl and Countess of Northumberland, and a jewel of gold which had been given to the Countess by a Spaniard in the late Queen's time, and a gold ring, set with a little table diamond. Mary accepted these offerings very graciously, placed the ring on the fourth finger of her left hand, and declared "it should never be removed." Within the week "she caused John Livingstone's wife to deliver to Hameling a fair tire of lawn for the head, with all things thereto belonging, for him to convey to the Countess of Northumberland; and a letter to the Earl,"[3] who presently returned an answer, and desired Hameling to ask Queen Mary "if she were sure of the Nortons," and she replied, "I am sure of them."[4]

Captain Rede, the commanding officer of the band of

[1] Cotton MSS. Brit. Mus.—Caligula, c. iv. f. 6, inedited.
[2] Examination of Hameling in Haynes' Burleigh Papers, 594.
[3] Ibid. 595. [4] Ibid.

men whose duty was to prevent the escape of the illustrious captive, acted the friendly part one day of drawing Hameling aside and advising him "to take heed of what he was about, for he was suspected of being a dealer between the Queen of Scots and the Earl of Northumberland, and that Sir Francis Knollys had him in suspicion."[1] Mary then chose another messenger. One day, when the Earl of Northumberland was dining with one of her partisans in that neighbourhood, she sent to him by one Francis Moore a letter and an enamel chain of silver exquisitely worked, very slender, but so long and fine that it would pass many times about any one's neck. It was a token from her to the Countess of Northumberland, who ever after wore it round her neck. One day Mary wrote to inquire of the Earl, "how many horsemen would be required to carry her away?" His answer is not on record.

Unfortunately the Earl of Northumberland, having become a secret convert to the Church of Rome, was now bent on traversing Mary's matrimonial engagement with the Duke of Norfolk, although he had been the first to suggest it. But the disposition Mary had shown to conform to the worship of the Church of England, and the good liking she had expressed for the Liturgy, together with her complacent attention to the sermons of her Protestant chaplain, inspired strong suspicions that under the marital influence of a consort of the reformed faith, handsome, amiable, and liberal-minded as Norfolk, even if she did not actually abjure the mass, she might adopt a more fatal course for Romanism by endeavouring to carry out her enlightened principle of establishing religious liberty in her dominions, so that, to use her own expression, "every man might worship God according to his conscience," a principle perfectly opposed to the persecuting bigotry of polemics of all denominations, and no more to the taste of the Roman Catholic Earl of Northumberland than it had been to the hot zeal of John Knox for the presbytery.

Northumberland indulged in the chimerical hope of bringing England again under the Papal yoke through a

[1] Examination of Hameling in Haynes' Burleigh Papers, 595.

marriage which he was endeavouring to negotiate between Mary Stuart and Philip II. of Spain, who had formerly, as we have seen, sought her for the wife of his son Don Carlos. But Philip's policy now required him to strengthen his cause in the Low Countries by marrying the daughter of the Emperor; therefore he wrote to Mary, recommending his illegitimate brother, Don John of Austria, to her for a consort, promising to assist her both with money and troops in the event of her condescending to his suit. This was no disparaging suit for the captive Sovereign of Scotland, for, like the brave Dunois, whose representative, the Duke de Longueville, her mother, Mary of Lorraine, had wedded, Don John of Austria had so covered the defect in his birth with the blazonry of renown, that the greatest princess in Europe might have been proud of calling him her lord.

Mary's wisest course would have been to resign Norfolk, and confide her cause to her renowned Spanish wooer, who was eager to engage in the chivalric enterprise of breaking the chains of the beautiful royal bride he aspired to win. He was learned, accomplished, a model of manly grace and beauty, and was considered the master spirit of the age; his great abilities, both military and diplomatic, and gallant deportment, threw his royal brother completely into the shade wherever he appeared, exciting a universal feeling of regret in Spain that Heaven had not decreed the sceptre to him who was so much better qualified to grace a throne than the cold-blooded, cruel, and formal Philip.[1]

[1] The birth of Don John of Austria is among the mysteries of history. He was only twenty-four at the time of his famous naval victory at Lepanto in 1571, therefore he must have been some years younger than Mary Stuart. He was educated at Ghent, under the care of a Flemish lady of unstained character, who passed for his mother; but the scandals of the day declared he was the son of Charles V. by Mary Queen of Hungary. Don John was a young boy when Charles V., his imperial sire, died; but as he was owned by that Emperor as his son-illegitimate, and was extremely popular among his subjects as a very spirited and lively resemblance of that great sovereign, he was recognised as such at the Court of Philip II. Don John, at his first introduction to his half-brother, was received with fraternal kindness; but a subsequent adventure caused Philip to look on him with coldness and jealousy. It was the fashion for all sovereigns to have a lions' den on one side of the porter's lodge of the royal dwellings, a custom old as the days of King Darius, and brought

But Mary's heart clave to Norfolk. She considered herself, withal, sure of the support of the Roman Catholic aristocracy of England, at all times, under any circumstances, and calculated on gaining the suffrages of the members of the Reformed Church, also, as the wife of the greatest and most popular Protestant peer in England. So, without putting a decided and impolitic negative on a proposal that was backed by the nobles of her own faith, and advanced by the only Sovereign in Christendom who had the power of befriending her, she prudently replied, "that inasmuch as she was entirely in the hands of Queen Elizabeth, she was in no condition to enter into a matrimonial engagement at that time; for before it was possible to do so, she required succour in order that she might be replaced on the throne of Scotland."[1]

In the midst of the excitement and turmoil produced in Bolton Castle by the peremptory orders for Mary's instant removal, arrived the melancholy news of the death of Lady Knollys. As she was first cousin to Queen Elizabeth, who professed great affection for her, and Sir Francis Knollys

down to our own; for it is not so long since the Byward Tower of the Tower of London was the wild-beast show of the English capital. A peculiarly fierce young lion was brought to the King of Spain from Africa, and as there was supposed to subsist some occult liaison between all thoroughbred royal persons and lions, the Spanish nobles invited Philip II. to caress the lion, and he, seeing it was expected, went to pat him cautiously, when the creature reared, and showed such rough play that Philip called out for aid; his young brother, Don John, sprang to his rescue, pulled off this lion, who turned about, licked his hand, and showed the love for him often manifested by a noble large dog to his master. The Spanish grandees were delighted with the courage and manliness of Don John of Austria, and scarcely suppressed their ardent wishes that the great King and Emperor, Charles V., had left such a successor. When Philip II. found that the young lion had been an old friend and playmate of his brother, he never forgave the adventure, believing it all to be a trick to raise Don John at his expense. However, Europe expected bright deeds from Don John of Austria, who seemed to stand forth as the representative of the departing chivalry of Spain: he was advanced to high commands, both by sea and land, of the united Spanish, Netherlandish, and Venetian forces, and we shall have cause to find that he was the hero of more serious exploits than this of the lion, and the better-known adventure recorded by Montfaucon, that he undertook a journey from Bayonne to Paris, to see the young Marguerite of Valois dance a pavon or minuet, and stayed no longer than until she had concluded it with the exquisite grace he had been taught to expect. Such was Mary Stuart's last suitor.

[1] Résumé Chronologique de l'Histoire de Marie Stuart, par Prince Alexandre de Labanoff, p. 44 (privately printed at St Petersburg, 1856).

was overwhelmed with grief for her death, it was naturally expected that the removal of his royal charge would necessarily be postponed till after the funeral. But no such respect was paid either to his feelings or the memory of the deceased. The disconsolate widower, who had been forbidden to quit his irksome post at Bolton Castle to cheer his beloved wife, by visiting her in her last illness, instead of being allowed to return to his desolate home, to pay the last mournful duty to her lifeless remains, was enjoined to superintend the removal of the Queen of Scots, and conduct her to Tutbury. Henry Knollys, who was then at Bolton Castle, wrote an apologetic letter to Cecil, humbly representing the impossibility of his poor brother Sir Francis, so distracted as he was with sorrow for the recent loss of his wife, attending to his orders for the removal of the Queen of Scots, especially as she persisted in declaring "that she would not be removed without violence."[1]

After three days' consideration, Mary wrote in the style royal to her keeper, who had secluded himself in the retirement of his own apartment, enclosing Queen Elizabeth's order for her removal:—

"Forasmuch as the Queen our good sister has informed us by her letter, written from Hampton Court the 20th of this month, that it is her pleasure that we be transported from this place to another more commodious, we would not refuse or make any difficulty about it, wishing in this, as in other things, to satisfy her; but you, her Vice-Chamberlain, having declared to us that you have orders to make us go immediately, we reply that our good sister has not specified or fixed any day to us, and that we do not conceive that it is her intention that you should use such extremity to us that we should be constrained to a day. To which, nevertheless, we would willingly condescend, were it not that, our Commissioners being with our good sister, it seems to us that she could not have taken this resolution without saying something about it to them, and that it is only reasonable we should wait to hear from them, or rather, if you would permit us to send to the Queen our good sister, that we might understand her will and pleasure, for before our departure from this place we shall require to consult with our said Commissioners touching certain necessities for ourselves and our servants, as well as the urgent affairs of our realm. Therefore we pray you to take this our answer in good part, and not to interpret it into a refusal to quit this place, which is no more to us than any other,

[1] Henry Knollys to Cecil, Bolton, January 21, 1568-1569—State Paper Office MS., inedited.

but that it is not our wish to leave it so soon as you desire for the above considerations, together with the unsuitableness of the weather, and the indisposition of our person, to which you have orders to pay some regard. We have not waited, as you know, to tell you these things at the last moment, for we acquainted you with them at first, and they have been reiterated to you several times, both by our own words and those of our servants who were present at our conference with you.

"BOLTON, the 25th day of January 1569 (N.S.)"[1]

Sir Francis Knollys had in truth no more stomach for the journey at that distressing period than the royal remonstrant; but his orders were so imperative that he ventured not to put his head in jeopardy by either refusing or delaying to perform the ungracious service imposed upon him by his Sovereign. The resolution signified by Elizabeth on the 30th of October, of removing Mary to Tutbury Castle, would have been carried into effect in the beginning of November, but for the difficulty of providing horses and saddles for the journey. The Earl of Sussex, who had been applied to, with the intimation that he must supply what was required, thus excused himself: "Some saddles my wife hath of fustian of Naples for her women, which be too bad for the Scottish Queen's women; but her horses be at grass, or gone into Essex."[2]

Sixteen horses were at last lent for the long-delayed journey by the Bishop of Durham, it having been found impossible to obtain any nearer for that purpose; a significant token of the state of the public mind in the equestrian county of Yorkshire in regard to the royal captive, whose reluctance to be removed from that district was no secret.

Notwithstanding all her objections, Mary and her devoted little train of Scotch and French attendants were forced to leave Bolton Castle on the 26th of January, and commence their comfortless journey, guarded by Captain Read and his veteran band. Her Majesty and her friend Lady Livingstone, who were both indisposed, were placed in a litter. The other ladies and their maids travelled on horseback. A more malcontent company never traversed

[1] From the original French, printed in Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 284.

[2] Sussex to Knollys, November 6, 1568—Inedited State Paper MS.

a wilder and more desolate track on a cold midwinter day. The person most to be pitied of the party, next to Queen Mary, was Sir Francis Knollys, who, with a sore heart for his unburied wife, was doomed to bear the reproach of putting unkind constraint on the will of the loveliest and most unfortunate Queen in Christendom, and to hear the complaints of her indignant ladies, besides having to contend with all the obstacles, and overrule all the excuses, their feminine ingenuity could devise to retard the journey. He was enjoined by his Sovereign's letter to control his personal griefs, and perform the service required of him, and to take the earliest opportunity for delivering her message touching the intercepted letters to Queen Mary, and report her sayings and demeanour. It was, however, late when they reached Ripon, the place where they were to sleep, and his royal charge being exhausted with cold and fatigue, he refrained from harassing her by introducing the unpleasant business to her till the morrow. The following particulars are from the pen of Henry Knollys, to whom the task of reporting their proceedings to Cecil was deputed: "Yesterday the Scottish Queen removed from Bolton to Ripon: of the difficulties that passed in the removing, and the whole manner of her behaviour he (Sir Francis Knollys) will advertise you more largely at better leisure. Hereof he would have advertised you from Ripon, but he staid upon this Queen's answer to the demand which he had commission to make touching the late proclamation in Scotland; and thereunto she saith, 'that true it is she willed certain things to be notified touching the doings and practices of my Lord of Moray, but that she had pronounced anything that might touch the Queen's Majesty she utterly denieth.'[1] Likewise for the letters, she refuseth them plainly for none of hers. He forbore to trouble her with these matters yesternight, both because of her weariness after her long journey, and also for that it was very late within night before she came to her lodging."

[1] Henry Knollys to Cecil, Ripon, January 27, 1568-1569—State Paper MS., inedited.

Sir Francis wrote to Queen Elizabeth the next day, telling her "he would suppress his own griefs to inform her of this Queen's answer to the copy of her *supposed* letter sent into Scotland"—an expression plainly intimating his opinion that it was not a genuine document. "She did not deny," he observes, "but that 'the first lines contained in the said copy were agreeable to a letter she had sent into Scotland, which touched my Lord of Moray's promise to deliver her son into your Majesty's hands; and, to avoid that the same should not be done without her consent, made her,' she saith, 'to write in that behalf.' She saith also, 'that she wrote that they should cause a proclamation to be made to stir her people to *defend* (prevent) my Lord of Moray's intent and purpose for delivering her said son, and impunge his rebellious government,' as she termed it, but she utterly denieth to have written any of the other slanderous parts of the said letter touching your Majesty. She said also, 'that she suspected that a Frenchman now in Scotland might be the author of some Scotch letters devised in her name;' but she would not allow me to write this for any part of her answer."[1]

Mary herself wrote to Elizabeth, during her halt at Ripon, a letter of no ordinary historic interest. She commences it with the announcement "that she had been forcibly removed from Bolton," but courteously implies her conviction that the constraint to which she had been subjected was without Elizabeth's knowledge, and assures her "that the reluctance she had shown in complying with her pleasure was not from an intention to oppose it, but only to obtain a little time to arrange business concerning her realm, which trifling indulgence had not been granted. To increase this my vexation," continues poor Mary, "in addition to my many others, I have been informed in this place of the ill-will it has pleased you to conceive against me and my Commissioners. As to the proclamation, I protest to you on my faith, that neither they nor I have had aught to do with it, nor any knowledge of

[1] Letter from Sir Francis Knollys to Queen Elizabeth, Wetherby, January 28, 1568-1569—State Paper Office MS.

the contents. I wrote to them, indeed, that *Mora* and his accomplices had made such offers, and desired that proclamation should be issued to let the people know that they should not permit it. I also wrote to Lord Mar, reminding him of the promise he had made to me never to give up my son without my consent. The information came to me from Scotland, with a copy of the letter which they said you had written to my rebels before they came into this country. Madam, I never thought by this to offend you; but it would be bad for me that my child were delivered, without my consent, by those to whom it so little appertains to dispose of him."

After this explanation, she pathetically excuses what she had done, if taken amiss, by attributing it to the strong impulses of maternal love and apprehension. "Consider," she says, "I am a mother, and of an only child. I hope you will pardon me, seeing that I never thought of blaming any one but my rebels, who had made such offers. May it please you also not to harm my Commissioners, for they are innocent, but permit them to retire like the others (her adversaries, Moray and his confederates), and allow one or two of them to repair to me to report my matters to me, for otherwise I cannot understand whether any agreement has been made or otherwise. As to the letters in question, I have no knowledge of them, and have never written of such vain fantasies. And if you will be pleased to inquire into it, you will not find that they have been either done by my command, my hand, or authority. Of the rest of my grievances and hard treatment, being dragged hither by force, M. de Ross and the others will make you a full report. I shall also write to Master Cecille touching the letters more at length."[1]

The same agitating day Mary wrote thus to Elizabeth, she received letters from her Commissioners informing her of their detention in London, and was surprised by a visit from Sir Robert Melville, who had come to Ripon in quest of her, charged with penitential messages, professions of affection, and offers of service from the Earl of Moray,

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. pp. 287, 288, 289.

who deceitfully promised, if she would forgive and restore him to her favour, to become the instrument of replacing her on her throne, and accomplishing her marriage with his friend the Duke of Norfolk.[1]

Mary replied, "that she was sorry the Earl of Moray and his adherents had so far forgotten their duty towards her, who not only was their native Princess, but had been beneficial to him above all others; but yet she tendered her realm and subjects so lovingly that she would use herself towards them as a mother to her children, so that they would openly acknowledge their offence, and declare their intention to serve and obey her for the time to come; and if he would fulfil his promise, by labouring for her restoration to her crown and realm, then she would use his advice as one of the most principal of her loving council in all her affairs, especially touching her marriage either with the Duke of Norfolk or any other honourable Prince who should be thought most fit by her nobility and the Estates of Scotland for her honour and the weal of her realm: adding, that she must decline speaking further on the subject of her marriage till she was restored to liberty and her throne."[2] So far so well; but Moray was a death-doomed man, she knew; and much as he had injured, oft as he had beguiled her, cruelly as he had belied her, the tenderness of her nature would not allow the penalty his offences against her had provoked to be inflicted on him by her friends. An escort of two thousand armed men would not have sufficed to protect his life; a few lines traced by her hand, captive though she were, averted every danger that menaced him, and opened his way.

"The Queen our sovereign," says Lesley, "hoping the Earl would have kept his promise made to her and the nobility of England, wrote her letters to the Duke of Châtelherault, who was then upon his journey passing into Scotland, and to the Earls of Huntley and Argyll, and others of the nobility, to stay all hostility, and to the Borderers to stay any invasion or trouble they had intended against the Earl of Moray, and to discharge their

[1] Labanoff. [2] Lesley—in Anderson's Collections.

armies which were then assembled upon the fields in readiness."[1] Lesley deposes, in his examinations in the Tower, "that Moray was moved by his fear of the determination which he knew was set against his life, to send Sir Robert Melville to persuade the Queen his sister to write to her friends in his behalf, which she was the more easily induced to do by the recommendation of the Duke of Norfolk, at whose request she wrote to the Nortons and Markenfields, who intended to have fallen upon Moray and slain him at Northallerton, to allow him to pass unmolested."[2] They reluctantly acceded to her pleasure; and, when Moray passed, showed themselves in force sufficiently near to give him a fright, for the purpose of convincing him that he could not possibly have escaped them if they had persevered in their design against his life.

Moray wrote from Berwick both to Queen Elizabeth and Cecil his thanks for the great favour and protection that had been vouchsafed to him. "In my returning homeward," he says to his friend Cecil, "I have been earnest, by such means as I could, to understand the Queen my sovereign's mother's disposition; and truly so far as I can inquire, in her conceit she esteems herself nothing dejected nor destitute of friendship, and so methinks there was never greater occasion to be careful of her surety, which I write even as mickle for the Queen's Majesty (Elizabeth's) estate, and for the repose that godly and honest men has under her gracious and quiet governance, as for my own place and interest, which can never be in good case the other being troubled. Ye are wise enough," he significantly observes, "without my counsel and admonition." Endorsed—"To my right well-beloved and assured friend Sir William Cecil, Principal Secretary to the Queen's Majesty of England."

In his postscript he adds, "Gif the Lords Boyd, Herries, and Bishop of Ross could be stayed for a season, it would do greit gude."[3] A hint that was not lost. "In the mean time, the Lord Herries and I were stayed by the

[1] Lesley—in Anderson. [2] Murdin's Burleigh Papers.
[3] Haynes' Burleigh Papers, 506. The Earl of Moray to Secretary Cecil, from Berwick, the last of January 1568-9.

Queen of England for the space of twenty days after the Earl of Moray was departed," records Lesley Bishop of Ross, "of purpose, as it appeared, till that word should be sent again from the Borders of his safe arriving in Scotland, and the Duke of Châtelherault during the same time, and upon the same occasion, was stayed certain days at York."[1]

After resting one day and two nights at Ripon, where her time must have been too fully and excitingly employed for sleep, Mary was compelled to proceed on her reluctant journey. On the road between Ripon and Wetherby, her old acquaintance Hameling met her, and, notwithstanding the presence of her guards, contrived to speak to her privately. He was in some artful disguise, as a beggar soliciting charity by the wayside, for the conference excited no suspicion, though she sent a gold enamelled ring to the Earl of Northumberland by him with the significant message, "that she should require the Earl to remember his promise."[2]

After this remarkable episode in the journey the cavalcade proceeded to Wetherby, where they halted long enough for Sir Francis Knollys to write his official report to Queen Elizabeth;[3] the same evening, January 28, they arrived at Pontefract Castle.

> "Bloody prison!
> Fatal and ominous to noble peers."

If the first sight of the relics of that fatally celebrated slaughter-house of royal despotism bring before the mental vision of travellers, journeying free and unmolested in this now happy land of justice, an appalling train of memories connected with the dark deeds perpetrated there, how must the cheek of the captive heiress of England have blanched when she understood that she was to pass the night

> "Within the guilty closure of those walls,
> Where the second Richard had been hacked to death;"

or, as more sad traditions assert, doomed to die of baffled thirst and hunger, with a royal banquet daily spread before his longing eyes, of which he might not taste? There, too,

[1] Bishop Lesley's Negotiations, p. 42—Anderson's Collections.
[2] Haynes' Burleigh Papers, 594. [3] Labanoff.

almost within the memory of man, her own collateral kinsmen, Lord Richard Gray and Earl Rivers, the maternal brother and the uncle of her great-grandmother Elizabeth of York, had been ruthlessly butchered by the despotic warrant of the ambitious crookback, Richard of Gloucester, as the necessary prelude for his usurpation of the throne of his young royal nephew Edward V.

Pontefract Castle was assuredly not a lodging likely to enliven her whose fatal proximity to the Crown of England rendered her an object of vindictive jealousy to the reigning Sovereign. Undaunted, however, by the historic tragedies associated with the place, that so practically illustrated the proverb, "the steps of Princes from their prisons to their graves are few," Mary Stuart wrote from thence an intrepid and imprudently sarcastic letter to Sir William Cecil, the all-powerful minister of Queen Elizabeth, on the subject of the recent proclamations in Scotland, and the letters pretended by Moray to have been written by her and intercepted by his people. Had she confined her letter to Cecil to a brief positive denial of having either written or authorised the statements relating to him and Queen Elizabeth, with which they had been artfully interpolated, she had done wisely and acted with more queenly dignity, than condescending to speak her mind, on the injurious treatment she had received, so plainly as she does, though with all conventional terms of courtesy. The letter is too characteristic to be omitted, especially as it has never before been noticed in any biography of this unfortunate Princess, and it derives no ordinary interest from the circumstances under which it was penned.

MONSIEUR DE CECIL,[1]—Having understood that my adversaries have brought you some copies of my letters and proclamations lately published by my subjects, which the Queen and some of you in particular have taken amiss, I wish much to explain to you at once what mine were, believing that neither my good sister nor any one among you could feel offended by it. The truth is, that the machinations of the Earl of Moray, and those who during this Conference came with him to enjoy the success of their captain and his associates, and to augment my rebels and their disloyal

[1] From Mary's original French letter to Cecil, dated *Panfray* (Pontefract), January 28, 1569—Labanoff, vol. ii.

rebellion, and by the same means to discourage my good and obedient subjects, and alienate them from their devotion to my cause, circulated various reports in my realm; among others that I had plainly lost my cause, and that they ran no risk in accusing me, being assured that I should have no means of confuting them, and that, much as I had reckoned on aid from my good sister, the Earl of Moray would be favoured and established more strongly than before in my patrimony by delivering up my son and the fortresses. This was reported to me by several of my good subjects, but I could no more put a stop to that than to any other of the many lies they have falsely and maliciously devised before to serve their turn. Yet seeing I was at last informed by some of my Council in Scotland, and the nobles who adhered to my party, that they attributed the small account that was made of me to the indifference I appeared to feel for them and my own affairs, I was constrained to take into consideration the strange and barbarous cruelty of my rebels, who, in return for the many benefits they have received from me, have openly pursued me to rob me of my crown, my life, and honour; their reception by the Queen my good sister, where they have accused me falsely, and the heartbreaking refusal of her presence to myself, which I desired more than anything in the world, that I might make declaration of mine innocence there. In this perplexity and torment, where I had comfort only in God, and the constancy and fidelity of my good subjects, I knew not how to do less than make a demonstration for the satisfaction of those from whom I had received the information, and, by their advice, to confirm my obedient subjects in the good-will and devotion which they bear to me. But I can assure you, whatever you may have been shown, that it never was my intention to touch the honour of the Queen my good sister, whom, after God, I esteem the defence and protection of my life, my estate, and honour; neither any of her good servants and ministers, of whose good-will towards me I need make no doubt, from their respect for her to whom I am so near in blood, and the loyalty and duty of a grave and honourable council to her.

I believe that those who have given you the said copies could have done as much with the originals by the means of those of whom you are aware. As to the one that has been shown to me, I cannot tell you what has been added to it, but that, as a whole, I have not written such a letter. Mine were simply addresses to some of the nobles of my realm, tending solely to keep my good subjects in obedience. How the proclamations have been amplified I know not, but can assure you I never saw them in this form. If there be anything in them which offends others besides my rebels, I am very sorry and much displeased at it."[1]

The letters Mary was accused of writing are certainly in a very different style from that to the Earl of Huntley of the 5th of January, which contains the following noble comment on the accusation of her calumniators. "This present is to show you that my Lord Boyd, our trusty cousin and

[1] From Mary's original French letter to Cecil, Pontefract, January 28, 1569.—Labanoff, vol. ii.

counsellor, who arrived here from the Court the 27th of the said month December, has declared to us how our rebels has done the worst they could to have dishonoured us, which thanks to God lies not in their power, but by their expectation has found themselves disappointed in that they looked for. They pretend now to seek appointment; but albeit we be not of such nature as those that forgives never, not the less we shall cause them acknowledge their foolishness, and the said Queen, our good sister, and her Council, know their false inventions and offences practised against us to colour their treason and wicked usurpation, so that it shall be manifest to all the world what men they are, to our honour and the contentment of our faithful subjects. For praise be God, our friends increase and theirs decrease daily."[1]

The private letter written by Mary from Bolton, partly in cipher, to the Archbishop of St Andrews, on the state of her affairs, and the proclamation she wished to be made for the information of her loyal subjects, fully corroborates the statements she makes in her letters to Cecil and Elizabeth, and is otherwise so valuable as an inedited document, illustrative of her proceedings at this interesting period, that one or two extracts are offered to the reader:—

"Ye shall understand that of late it has been proposed to me to consent that my son should be delivered in A (Queen Elizabeth's) hands, and that it was not necessary that W., Lord Herries, Kilwinning, and others, that they call of the Hamilton faction, should *mell* therewith, and to that there *mistered* (required) none but me, Tr., Lord Lennox, and others of my name; and to draw me into that crafty snare they make them to be meek in manner that their anger was past. Seeking me to appointment (a reconciliation), this matter was opened to me to feel my opinion, but I would not answer until the time the same were spoken to me in A's name, and then I am deliberate (resolved) to show her that I came to put myself in her hands without the advice of my good subjects, and will not do the like of my son for many reasons, and that the same behoved to be spoken to them first afore me."[2]

After this declaration, which proves that Mary considered it was her duty as a constitutional Sovereign not to dispose

[1] Cotton Lib., Cal. c. fol. 280.

[2] Letter from Queen Mary to the Archbishop of St Andrews, off Barton, January 18, 1568—Hopetoun MSS.

of the person of the heir of her realm without the sanction of a lawful Parliament, she requests that such a demonstration may be made by the loyal nobles as may show that neither they nor the rest of her faithful people will ever consent to such a proposal.

In regard to the overtures of the rebels for reconciliation, she observes with truly royal spirit:[1] "As to the appointment that they desire, I am not of those that forgive not, but I am resolved afore the hearing of any condition that they shall find nothing in prejudice of my honour, or any of my faithful subjects whom they have touched with their braggings, for I will not leave them that have not left me." She mentions her confident expectation of immediate aid, both from France and Spain, as intimated by hieroglyphical characters, and the impossibility of A. (Elizabeth) withstanding both, if they heartily coalesce in her behalf, and that she will write immediately to hasten them to send succours of money, victuals, and ammunition to X, meaning Dumbarton, which was still gallantly holding out in her name. As regards the proclamations she wishes to be published in Scotland, she requests "that they may be so carefully worded as to avoid the danger of personal injury to herself, being in A's country and power." "I pray you," she says, "to speak of her Majesty with such respect that they may not find matter to make their profit against me." Now, this being Mary's genuine letter containing her real mind, it makes the fact apparent that the letters to Arbroath and others, which Moray had put into Elizabeth's hands, were forgeries, cunningly fabricated for the purpose of producing the evil consequences the captive Queen was naturally anxious to avoid.

Although Mary's letter to Cecil was written after her conference with Sir Robert Melville at Ripon, she prudently refrained from intimating, by any change of tone in reference to Moray, that amicable overtures had been made by him and accepted by her. The fact is, however, perceptible in the brief and cautious communication she addressed to the Archbishop

[1] Letter from Queen Mary to the Archbishop of St Andrews, off Boton January 18, 1568—Hopetoun MSS.

of St Andrews from Rotherham on the 30th of January, telling him "that she had received his letters of the 20th, but for weighty considerations could not write her mind then, as her letters were often taken by the way; but she had hope the Earl of Moray would not use extremity, promising to send her loved servitor the Laird of *Gartely* (Barclay), after her arrival at Tutbury, to explain how matters stood.[1]

Lady Livingstone's indisposition had been so seriously aggravated by the fatigue of travelling, and exposure to such severe weather, that, being unable to proceed, she was left behind at Rotherham, and her royal mistress was reluctantly compelled to continue the journey without her.[2]

Mary was herself attacked with violent pain in the side next day, and became so alarmingly ill in the course of a few hours, that Sir Francis Knollys, finding it impossible to bring her on to Chesterfield, halted seven miles north of that town, and lodged her at the mansion of Mr Foljambe, where she and her ladies were honourably received and kindly entertained by their noble hostess, Lady Constance Foljambe, till she was sufficiently recovered to proceed to her destination.

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 294.

[2] Ibid.

MARY STUART

CHAPTER XLVIII.

SUMMARY.

Queen Mary arrives at Tutbury Castle—Sir Francis Knollys delivers her to her new keeper, the Earl of Shrewsbury—Some account of the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury—Furniture sent to Tutbury Castle for Mary's use — Damp unaired apartments — She takes cold — Attacked with rheumatism — Arrival of her Commissioners at Tutbury — She examines their register — Approves their proceedings — She writes to Queen Elizabeth — Repeats her determination never to resign her Crown — Complains of fresh restrictions on her correspondence with Scotland—Visit of Nicholas White to Tutbury—His interview with Mary—Their conversation—His opinion of her person and manners—Real colour of her hair—Her retinue at Tutbury—Her noble Protestant friends, Lord and Lady Livingstone—Curious bed of emblems and impresas worked by Mary.

QUEEN MARY arrived at Tutbury Castle on the 3d of February 1569, eight days having been occupied in performing the journey from Bolton Castle. The inclemency of the weather, badness of the roads, the insufficiency of the horses, and, above all, the sickness and reluctance of the illustrious traveller and her attendants, may account for the funereal slowness of the progress and various stoppages by the way.

Mary was received by the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, her new keepers, not as a guest, but a prisoner of state, Sir Francis Knollys, in obedience to his instructions, formally delivering her person into the custody of the Earl, on whom, as Castellan of the royal fortress of

Tutbury, the office of her jailer had been imposed by his Sovereign.[1]

A few particulars of this nobleman and his lady, with whom Mary was doomed to spend many years of uneasy domestication, will be necessary to render the context of her biography intelligible. George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was one of the richest and most avaricious members of the ancient nobility of England. His natural disposition was kind and courteous, but he was a man of feeble character, cautious and timid, a constitutional invalid, and a victim to the tyranny of the unamiable and jealous wife to whom he had rashly ventured, in the decline of life, to become the fourth husband. By his first wife, Lady Gertrude Manners, the sister of the Earl of Rutland, he had a large family, who, as the descendants of Anne Plantagenet, Duchess of Exeter, eldest sister of Edward IV., were in the line of the royal succession, and related both to Queen Elizabeth and to Mary Queen of Scots. His second Countess, aspiring though she were, claimed no such perilous affinity with the Crown, being the co-heiress of a wealthy Derbyshire squire, John Hardwick of Hardwick, and, notwithstanding her frequent change of names and titles, was generally spoken of in her own county by the homely epithet of "Bess of Hardwick," from the place of her birth. She married, first, Robert Barley, Esq. of Barley, who liberally endowed her with all his lands, and left her a childless widow. By her second husband, Sir William Cavendish, she had a numerous and beautiful family of sons and daughters. At his death she became the wife of Sir William St Loo, the Captain of the Queen's Guard, and obtained the preferment of bedchamber-woman to Queen Elizabeth, in whose favour she held a distinguished place. So great was the ascendancy she acquired over the mind of Sir William St Loo, that she induced him to disinherit his daughters by his former marriage, and to leave the whole of his fortune to her. Her great acquisitions in this way, joined to her rich inheritance and influence at Court, probably tempted the Earl of Shrewsbury to seek the fourth reversion of her

[1] Lodge's Illustrations—Talbot Papers.

hand; and it was undoubtedly the intimate acquaintance of Queen Elizabeth with the characteristics of this lady[1] which induced her to consign poor Mary to the jailership of the said Earl, being well aware that he would be watched, reported, and circumvented by his conjugal spy and tyrant, if disposed to yield to feelings of manly compassion, or tempted to lighten the chains of his illustrious charge.

Tutbury Castle being almost destitute of furniture, and entirely of comforts, the following articles were sent from the royal wardrobe in the Tower of London for the use of the Queen of Scots: "Six pieces of tapestry hangings of the history of the Passion, lined with canvass; six pieces of tapestry hangings of the story of Curtius lined with canvass; seven pieces of hangings of tapestry of the story of Hercules, lined; four great carpets of Turkey making; four beds and bolsters, lined with tick and filled with feathers; four counterpoints of *verdure*, lined with canvass; four pair of fustians; three chairs of crimson cloth-of-gold; eight cushions of cloth-of-gold; two stools, the seats embroidered with cloth-of-gold on crimson satin; three footstools covered with tissue. From Elizabeth's travelling-wardrobe were sent twelve small Turkey carpets, two pair of pillow-biers of assay, eight pairs of pallet-sheets of coarse holland, with hooks and crotchets to hang the tapestry, and cords for the beds."[2] As the warrants for their removal bear date January 20th, it is doubtful whether they arrived at Tutbury before Mary's advent. Some of the plate and other necessaries that had been borrowed for Mary's use at Bolton were probably brought with her to Tutbury. Though her arrival had been long expected, the apartments she was doomed to occupy were damp and dilapidated, and the hospitable duty of airing them had been neglected,—cold comfort for the royal in-

[1] The Countess of Shrewsbury is described by Lodge "as a woman of masculine understanding and conduct, proud, jealous, selfish, and unfeeling." Her practical talents were various, all tending to the improvement of her property. She was a builder, a buyer and seller of estates, a money-lender, a farmer, and a merchant in lead, coals, and timber. Her taste in architecture is testified by Hardwick Hall, which she rebuilt from the foundation. Her portrait may be seen in the Gallery there, with those of her four husbands. Her features and complexion are delicate; and but for a sharp, shrewish expression, she might be termed a pretty woman.

[2] History of Tutbury, by Sir Oswald Mosely, Bart.

valid, after her harassing journey at that rigorous season of the year. The next day she was confined to her bed with a severe relapse of the illness that had attacked her on the road to Chesterfield, rheumatic pains in her head and neck, accompanied with fever. "And this was a sore beginning," the distressing prelude of the neuralgic agonies that were entailed upon her by her incarceration in a prison so inimical to her constitution.

Tutbury Castle was originally a Roman foundation, but had been several times rebuilt, and experienced frequent change of masters since the eagles had been compelled to abandon their proudly-chosen station. Mercian monarchs, Norman chiefs, and king-defying barons had, in turn, made Tutbury Castle their stronghold. It had been connected with the tragic story of the unfortunate Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and associated with the splendour and munificence of Mary's princely ancestor John of Gaunt, who founded there his Court of Minstrels, prudently inaugurating one as the Sovereign of the Order, to act as umpire in settling the disputes and jealous contentions of the rest.[1]

This royal fortress, with which so many varied recollections illustrative of the domestic history of England are associated, is seated on a lofty rock rising like a stately acropolis in the centre of a wide extent of lowland meads, pleasant and fertile pastures now, but in those days undrained noxious marshes, and in winter plains of ice or water. It is situated on the south bank of the river Dove, which parts the counties of Derbyshire and Staffordshire, looking down on the town and ancient church of Tutbury. The Castle was considered a place of impregnable strength. It was girdled with a broad moat nearly thirty feet in depth, surrounded with lofty walls, with ramparts and flanking towers of defence, enclosing three acres of ground, the only access to it being by means of a drawbridge, commanded by the artillery on the gateway towers. It is

[1] Strange that the savage pastime of the bull-running of Tutbury should also have been instituted out of compliment to the Minstrel King, and for his especial recreation, by a Prince whose patronage of poetry, music, and song, bespoke a mind in advance of the barbarous tastes of the fourteenth century.

scarcely possible to contemplate the stately relics of the royal fortress, without being reminded of the touching lines of the Bard of Needwood Forest :—

> "There captive Mary looked in vain
> For Norfolk and his nuptial train;
> Enriched with royal tears the Dove,
> And sighed for freedom, not for love."

The old-world town of Tutbury, being only five miles distant from Needwood Forest, is connected with the ballad lore and legendary exploits of Robin Hood and his fair vanquisher Clorinda. Their deeds were annually commemorated at the gay festival of the people, familiarly called Titbury Day, when feats of archery were performed, prizes contended for, and sylvan games enacted. No one would have entered into the spirit of these popular commemorations with greater zest than Mary Stuart; but it would have been as much as the Earl of Shrewsbury's head was worth to have permitted her fair face to be seen at any place of public resort.

Queen Mary's Commissioners having, after an unreasonable delay, obtained license from Elizabeth to leave London and repair to their royal mistress, to explain to her what had taken place at the Conferences at Hampton Court and Westminster, arrived at Tutbury Castle on the 7th of February.[1] Mary, though suffering from severe indisposition, roused herself to perform the painful task of examining the register in which the record of their daily proceedings was entered, and was graciously pleased to sign a testimonial expressing "her approbation of all they had said and done in her behalf, though the success had been otherwise than had been hoped."[2] But when the Bishop of Ross, who had been flattered and cajoled by Elizabeth and Cecil into suggesting the idea of purchasing her liberty by ratifying her forced abdication, and consenting for her son to be brought to England, proposed this to her, her spirit rose; she expressed both surprise and indignation, and forbade him "ever again to name anything so derogatory to her honour, and her duty to God and her people."[3]

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 296. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

"There is one favour I must entreat of you," wrote she to the pitiless arbitress of her destiny, "which is, not to permit any more such shameful and injurious overtures to be placed before me, as those whereto the Bishop of Ross has been counselled to lend an ear, for, as I have requested Maister Knollys to show you, I have made a solemn vow to God never to resign that place to which He has called me, so long as I retain strength to perform its duties; and thanks be to Him, I feel my powers augmented by the desire I have of acquitting myself better than before, being better qualified for it withal by what time and experience have taught."[1] This truly queenly sentiment is contained in the first letter addressed by the royal captive to Elizabeth from Tutbury Castle, February 10th.

When Sir Francis Knollys took his leave of Mary, she asked him to notify to her new keeper, the Earl of Shrewsbury, that a promise had been made to her, previously to her removal from Bolton, that the same number of her attendants were to be retained in her service, with liberty for her to send special messengers to convey letters and messages between her and her friends in Scotland, and to Queen Elizabeth. Knollys denied having made such promise, and Shrewsbury assured her "it was against his orders for her to hold any communication with Scotland." He informed her, also, "that her Commissioners could not be allowed to remain with her now they had performed the business on which they came, but must depart immediately." Mary remonstrated, in her letter to Elizabeth, against these restrictions, for which no reason had been alleged, intimating her belief that there must be some misconception on the part of the gentlemen in question. So far from imputing any blame to Sir Francis Knollys, she took the opportunity of speaking of him in terms of the highest commendation, and professed herself grateful for the respect and courtesy with which she had been treated by him and Lord Scroope while at Bolton, till such time as she was removed, "the manner of which," however, she says, she cannot conceal, "did appear hard to her."[2]

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 300. [2] Ibid.

She repeats "her readiness to confute the calumnies of her enemies, and make her own innocence apparent, whenever she may be allowed to speak in her own defence." In her postscript she notices "having just learned that her cousin the Duke of Châtelherault, notwithstanding her Majesty's passport, had been arrested at York, and begs that he may be liberated and permitted to proceed on his journey to his own country, whence he had been too long absent." He was nevertheless detained till after Moray's return to Scotland. "May it please you," she adds, "to excuse such bad writing, for this uninhabitable abode, and the cold, have brought on rheumatism and pain in my head."[1]

Sir Francis Knollys promised to explain to his Sovereign various matters contained in a memorial which Mary subjoined to this letter, and to use his influence for having her own little household arranged according to her desire.

After serious deliberation with her late Commissioners and Lord Livingstone, Mary decided on sending Lord Herries to Scotland with her letters and instructions to her loyal adherents there; to retain Lord Boyd to assist Lord Livingstone as her principal officers of state and personal advisers, and using the counsel also of Lesley Bishop of Ross, whom she intended to employ as her envoy to the Court of England and elsewhere, as occasion and the necessity of her affairs might require. No sooner, however, had Lord Herries and his brother-in-law, Sir James Cockburn of Skirling,[2] departed, than a sudden order arrived "for 'sequestrating' both Lord Boyd and the Bishop of Ross from her company," under the pretence that they were practising to

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 300.

[2] Sir James Cockburn of Skirling was married to a sister of Lord Herries, and, joining with his faithful brother-in-law in defence of the honour of his captive Queen, she appointed him as one of her Commissioners at the Conference of York. At a previous period of her life and reign, she had assigned to him the keeping of Edinburgh Castle, but the day he commenced his captainship a furious gale of wind blew off the weathercock of St Giles' steeple. Trivial as this incident was, it fulfilled an ancient prophecy, as old Birrel notices, who quotes—

When Skirling sal be captain
The cock sal lose his tail.

So malignant was the vengeance inflicted by the Earl of Moray on his sister's faithful supporter, that on June 12, 1568, he destroyed his mansion and

convey her away secretly; and they were commanded to withdraw to Burton-on-Trent, and not to repair to her again till they could be cleared from that suspicion. The object of this was to deprive her of the comfort of their society and the benefit of their advice.

And here it is proper to mention that the rough sketch of the eloquent little work called "A Defence of Queen Mary's Honour" was drawn up by Lesley during the Conference at Westminster, with the assistance of the Lords Herries and Boyd; and when these three held their last general consultation with their captive Sovereign in her prison at Tutbury Castle, the manuscript was submitted to her consideration. Some additions and alterations were made by her own pen, and resolution was taken for it to be published as an antidote to the anonymous slanders that had been disseminated in London against her. But how was this to be done? Printers there were of their own religion who would perform the manual labour *con amore*, but not one who would venture to incur the peril of having his name connected with any literary effort for the justification of a Princess whom it was the pleasure as well as the policy of the all-powerful and despotic Sovereign of the realm to crush beneath a load of obloquy. In this dilemma the following quaint and ingenious *alias* for the printer and his shop was adopted:

"Imprinted at London in Flete Street, at the Sign of JUSTICE ROYALL, against the Black Bull, by Eusebius Diceophile, Anno Dom. 1569."[1] It was not sent to press till the spring of 1570, when the following allegorical reference to the publisher was added: "Sold in Paul's Church *Yard* at the Signes of TIME AND TRUTH, by the Brazen Serpent, in the Shops of Ptoleme and Nicephore

village at Skirling completely. The property was restored by Mary's son, but the broom of destruction had passed over it in a manner that rendered it uninhabitable, therefore the family utterly deserted their former dwelling. Like most of the friends of Mary, Cockburn of Skirling left descendants who are in high prosperity at this day. The late celebrated Lord of Session, Lord Cockburn, is supposed by our authority to be one of them. —*New Statistical Account of Scotland*, published by the Messrs Blackwood of Edinburgh, vol. iii. pp. 101, 102.

[1] Editor's Preface—Anderson's Collections, vol. i. p. 5.

Lysosthenes, brother-ger-manes."[1] Lesley deemed it prudent to insert some compliments to Queen Elizabeth, in the vain hope that she might, for the sake of this subtle flattery to herself, permit the vindication of her unfortunate cousin to be circulated. He was, however, mistaken. Anything in refutation of the calumnies on Mary was to be treated as treason to Elizabeth. "Before eight leaves of the Defence could be finished at press," Cecil got intelligence by his spies that a book in favour of the Queen of Scots was in progress; "which book," writes he to Sir Henry Norris, "tendeth to set forth to the world that the Queen of Scots was not guilty of her husband's death." The work was allowed to proceed quietly to the conclusion, and was then peremptorily suppressed. Lesley reprinted it at Liege in 1572, under the *alias* of Morgan Philips, Bachelor of Divinity.[2] Some copies of the second edition being sent to England for private circulation, were seized by orders of the Government, and the circulation rigorously prohibited, although the artful praises of Elizabeth had deprived her of any plausible pretext for this tyrannical proceeding, which clearly demonstrates the fact that no exposure of the calumnies by which Mary had been crushed would be permitted.

The policy of crushing so formidable a rival is indeed very ably set forth by Cecil in his autograph memorial of the state of the realm, and the great and imminent perils that threatened his sovereign. "By the universal opinion of the world for the justice of the Queen of Scots' title as coming of the ancient line"—meaning as the representative of the son of Margaret Atheling in the royal Scottish lineage; for he is too careful to offend Elizabeth by any allusion to the more formidable claim from Margaret Tudor, in consequence of the brand of illegitimacy which Henry VIII. himself had flung on the offspring of his marriage with Anne Boleyn, but proceeds to state that "her

[1] Editor's Preface—Anderson's Collections, vol. i. p. 5.
[2] Lesley published his third edition at Rheims, in Latin, with his own name in 1580.

claims were countenanced by the strongest monarchies in Christendom, by secret and great numbers of discontented subjects at home, impatient for change, and expecting to be rewarded by her, and also by the probable opinion of great multitudes, both in Scotland and England, having an earnest and natural instinction to have both these realms under one head by means of the Queen of Scots." "The imminency of these perils," which he shows had always threatened Elizabeth, "had been," he states, "providentially averted by the death of Henry II. of France and his son Francis, the internal troubles in Scotland, the unlucky marriage of the Queen of Scots with the Lord Darnley, and by the fame of her murdering her husband." But then he significantly observes, "The inward troubles of Scotland will cease if succours be not given to the Earl of Moray. The marriage of the Queen of Scots with Darnley is ended, and her marriage with Bothwell shall be dissolved by the Pope, and so her marriage expectant is a great furtherance to her cause, which she may use to allure the good-wills of many strong princes. The fame of her murdering her husband will by time vanish away."[1] Mary's oft-repeated appeal "to Time, the father of truth," for the manifestation of her innocence, is the best comment on Cecil's last prophetic observation.

Soon after Mary's arrival at Tutbury Castle, one of Cecil's subordinate colleagues, named Nicholas White, passing through Chester on his way to Ireland, moved with curiosity to see the royal captive, thought proper to diverge from his journey, in order, as he pretended, to pay his compliments to her keepers, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury. The Earl informed Mary of the arrival of the English courtier, and she appeared desirous of speaking with him. White, being introduced into her presence-chamber, remained there with her noble attendants till she came forth from her privy chamber to give her presence to the evening service of the English Church.[2]

[1] Haynes' Burleigh Papers, p. 579-581.

[2] Letter of Nicholas White to Cecil, February 26, 1569—Haynes' Burleigh Papers, p. 599-612.

She addressed him with the winning courtesy that was natural to her, bade him welcome, and asked "him how her good sister did?" He answered, in a strain of almost Oriental hyperbole, "that the Queen's Majesty, God be praised, did very well, saving that all her felicities gave place to some passions of grief which she had conceived for the death of her kinswoman and good servant Lady Knollys, and how by that occasion her Highness fell for a while from a Prince-wanting-nothing-in-this-world to private mourning, in which solitary estate she took cold, wherewith she was much troubled, and whereof she was well delivered." This parade of extreme sorrow on the part of Elizabeth for the death of Lady Knollys, to whom she had denied the consolation of a visit from her husband in her last illness, must, combined with the remembrance of the little regard vouchsafed to the natural affliction of the poor widower at the time of his bereavement, have appeared to Mary a notable specimen of affectation, but she prudently made no comment.

White proceeds to give, in a long letter to Cecil, a very interesting account of his conferences with Mary, together with his observations on her characteristics and deportment. "She heard the English service with a book of the psalms in English in her hand, which she showed me after. When service was done her Grace fell in talk with me of sundry matters from six to seven of the clock, beginning first to excuse her ill English, declaring herself more willing than apt to learn that language; how she used translation as a mean to attain it; and that Mr Vice-Chamberlain was her good schoolmaster. From this she returned back again to talk of my Lady Knollys."

Master White had the bad taste to tell the captive Queen that, "although not culpable therein, she was herself the cause of the poor lady's death, which the long separation from Sir Francis Knollys, and a pining desire for his presence, had hastened." Instead of making the retort her sarcastic wit might have suggested, Mary with unruffled sweetness, rejoined: "I am sorry for her death, because I hoped to have been acquainted with

her," and then changed the subject. "I perceive by my Lord Shrewsbury," said she, "that ye go to Ireland, which is a troublesome country, to serve my sister there." "I do so, Madam, and the chiefest trouble of Ireland proceeds from the north of Scotland through the Earl of Argyll's supportation," was his rejoinder; to which she made little reply. He then asked her "how she liked her change of air?" With ready wit she answered: "If it might have pleased my good sister to let me remain where I was, I would not have removed for change of air at this time of the year; but I am the better contented therewith, because I am come so much the nearer to her whom I desire to see above all things, if it might please her to grant the same." White, by way of reply, proceeded to inflict on Mary a verbose and most provoking eulogium on the great bounty and kindness of the Queen's Majesty to her, who, he said, "did ever perform towards her the office of a gracious Prince, a natural kinswoman, and a faithful friend." [1]

Whether Mary suspected that he was endeavouring to provoke an indignant expression of her feelings on the score of the broken promises, perfidy, and injustice she had experienced from the object of this laudation, and prudence whispered caution, or surprise at the hardihood of assertions so strangely opposed to truth, kept her silent, it is certain she vouchsafed no remark; and he went on to tell her "how much cause she had to thank God that, after the passing through so many perils, she was safely arrived in such a realm, where he and others thought she had good cause to consider that she received very princely entertainment from the goodness of her Majesty;" adding an exhortation on the duty of submitting herself to the will of God, who had put her into this school to learn to bow her mind to Him who was above all the kings and princes of the world. Mary bore this meekly, and confessed "that she had, indeed, great cause to thank God for sparing her, and was grateful for every kindness she had received from the Queen

[1] Letter of Nicholas White to Cecil, February 26, 1569—Haynes' Burleigh Papers, p. 599-612.

her sister. As for contentation in her present estate," she frankly added, "she would not require it at God's hands, but only patience, which she humbly prayed Him to give her."

"I asked her Grace," continues White, "since the weather did cut off all exercises abroad, how she passed the time within?" She said, 'That all the day she wrought with her needle, and that the diversity of the colours made the time seem less tedious, and continued so long at it that very pain made her give over;' and with that she laid her hand on her left side, and complained 'of an old grief newly increased there.' Upon this occasion she entered into a pretty disputable comparison between carving, painting, and working with the needle, affirming, 'painting, in her own opinion, to be the most commendable quality.' I answered her Grace, 'I could skill of neither of them, but that I have read *Pictura* to be *veritas falsa*.' With this she closed up her talk, and, bidding me farewell, retired to her privy chamber."

Sketched by an avowedly unfriendly pen though this touching portrait of Mary Stuart in her weary English prison be, the genuine traits of the amiable, elegant, and right-minded woman are unmistakable. Her patience and command of temper, under circumstances of considerable provocation, are no less graphically delineated than the gracious courtesy and characteristic dignity of her manners.

Nicholas White learned from Harry Knollys, who was still at Tutbury, among other details of Mary's reluctance to be transported from Bolton to Tutbury Castle, that she had angrily exclaimed "that the Secretary Cecil was her enemy, and that she mistrusted by this removing that he would cause her to be made away with, and that her danger was so much the more because there was one dwelling very near Tutbury who pretended title to the Crown of England," meaning the Earl of Huntingdon, the great-grandson of George Duke of Clarence, and brother-in-law of the Earl of Leicester. But when her passion was past, she had the magnanimity to do justice to Cecil's merits, by observing, "that albeit the Secretary were not her

friend, yet she must needs say that he was an expert, wise man, a maintainer of all good laws for the government of this realm, and a faithful servant to his mistress; wishing it might be her luck to get the friendship of so wise a man."[1]

Through all the flattering allusions to the superiority of his own Sovereign (for whose eye this letter was intended) with which Nicholas White interlards his report of his interview with Mary Stuart at Tutbury Castle, the lively impression the royal captive had made on his mind is perceptible. How really charming he found her, as a woman, how formidable a rival to Elizabeth he considered her even in her sternly-guarded prison, armed only with those mental powers and personal attractions with which nature had fitted her to add lustre to a crown, appears by his emphatic advice, "that few subjects should be permitted to have access or conference with this lady; for besides that she is a goodly personage,"[2] continues he, adroitly giving the palm of beauty to his royal mistress, *par parenthese*, by adding, as in duty and prudence bound, "(and yet in truth not comparable to our Sovereign), she hath withal an alluring grace, a pretty Scotch accent, and a searching wit, clouded with mildness. Fame might move some to relieve her, and glory, joined to gain, might stir others to adventure much for her sake."

It is impossible to refrain from smiling at the abruptness with which, after a discreet protestation of how much his affection for his own Sovereign had been augmented by the sight of the royal captive, he thus reverts to the latter: "Her hair of itself is black, and yet Mr Knollys told me that she wears hair of sundry colours;" a piece of information which settles one of the minor subjects of controversy in regard to Mary Stuart.

"In looking upon her cloth-of-estate," continues the observing diplomatist, "I noted this sentence embroidered, '*En ma fin est mon commencement*,' which is a riddle I

[1] Letter of Nicholas Whyte to Cecil, February 26, 1569—Haynes' Burleigh Papers, p. 599-612.

[2] Ibid.

understand not." This motto, it may be remembered, had previously puzzled Randolph and other English spy reporters, when they saw it wrought upon her throne at Holyrood; not comprehending that the young blooming Sovereign in her nineteenth year, undazzled by the glories of her earthly state, testified thereby her hope of a better inheritance when the mortal should have put on immortality. Chosen for her warning in the days of her prosperity, she readopted it in the season of her adversity as her consolation.

"The greatest personage in house about her," proceeds Nicholas White, "is the Lord of Livingstone, and the lady his wife, which is a fair gentlewoman, and it was told me both Protestants. She hath nine women more, fifty persons in household, with ten horses. The Bishop of Ross lay then three miles off, in a town called Burton-upon-Trent, with another Scottish Lord whose name I have forgotten." It was Lord Boyd. "My Lord of Shrewsbury is very careful of his charge, but the Queen overwatches them all, for it is one of the clock at least every night ere she go to bed. The next morning," pursues he, "I was up timely and viewing the site of the house, which in mine opinion stands much like Windsor. I espied two halberdmen without the Castle wall, searching underneath the Queen's bedroom windows." In the previous part of his report White notices that John Beton, with whom he had become acquainted at the Court, as soon as he observed him in the presence-chamber, instead of giving any mark of recognition, hastened into the private sitting-room of the Queen his mistress, apparently to inform her, and kept out of his sight during the rest of his sojourn, escaping thereby artful interrogations.

It is pleasant to find that Lady Livingstone, whom Mary had been constrained to leave at Rotherham, about a fortnight previously, on a bed of sickness, uncertain whether they were ever to meet again on earth, was sufficiently recovered to follow her to Tutbury Castle and resume her duties, instead of taking that opportunity, as she and her lord might well have done, of relinquishing their unprofitable posts in their captive Sovereign's

household, and returning to the ease and comfort of their stately home in Scotland; for though Mary was captive, they were not, and were only bound to her service by the ties of loyal affection. They were members of the Reformed Church, she of that of Rome, yet they had left their goodly heritage and fair young family in Scotland for her sake. Strong, therefore, must have been their faith in her integrity. Few persons indeed had had better opportunities of understanding what the real conduct and characteristics of Mary Stuart were. Lord Livingstone, being the son of one of her Lord Keepers, had been on terms of brotherly familiarity with her from her infancy. His sister was one of her four Maries, her early friend and playmate, and Lady Livingstone had been one of the ladies of the bedchamber ever since 1561. Neither guilt nor levity could have been concealed from their observation had guilt or levity existed, nor would their servants have been deaf to the tattle of the backstairs and the ribald jests of the lobbies, if the conduct of the Queen had given cause for scandal. It must indeed be obvious to common sense, that if Mary had been so lost to shame and decency as her libeller Buchanan pretends, and the forged letters infer, her service would have been deserted in disgust by every noble Scotch lady, especially those who were of the reformed faith. Can it be supposed that a man of Lord Livingstone's high rank and unsullied honour, a leading member of the Congregation withal, would have ruined his fortune and outraged conscience and propriety by supporting her cause, and permitting his beautiful and virtuous wife, the mother of his children, to wait upon her, share her perils and her wanderings, and partake her prisons, without wages or reward, had there been the slightest grounds for the odious accusations with which the traitors who had murdered her husband, given her over as a prey to Bothwell, and usurped her throne, sought to justify their proceedings and cloak their own crimes?

The hairbreadth escape of the Queen and Darnley from the threefold ambush laid by the conspirators against his life and her liberty, when on the road to Callander House,

on the 30th of June 1565, was too fresh in remembrance to allow Lord and Lady Livingstone to attribute his mysterious assassination to her who had given convincing proofs that she

"Loved him,
Not wisely, but too well."

They had seen enough of the young royal pair in their hours of privacy, especially during their occasional halts to sup and sleep at Callander House when journeying from Edinburgh to Stirling, not to have formed an accurate estimate of the real state of Mary's feelings towards her handsome petulant young consort. She passed a night also beneath their roof on her way to visit him at Glasgow, therefore they had had an opportunity of observing whether her deportment to Bothwell were inconsistent with the dignity of a Queen and the propriety of a virtuous matron. Had there been the slightest desire on the part of Elizabeth to elicit the truth, the attendance of so important a witness as Lord Livingstone would have been required during the Conference in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, to depose to the real date of Queen Mary's journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow, the time of her arrival, and the length of her sojourn, especially whether the conversation detailed in the first of the silver-casket letters as having passed between her Majesty and himself actually occurred or not. But as it is obvious that his testimony would have exonerated his royal mistress, and overthrown the whole fabric of falsehood, he was prudently kept at a distance. Is it not apparent, also, that copies of the letters so earnestly and repeatedly demanded by Mary, were withheld because, he and Lady Livingstone being with her, she would have been able, by their depositions, to expose the forgery to the whole world?

Some highly interesting particulars of the needle-work with which poor Mary endeavoured to beguile the tedium of her prison hours are thus communicated by the bard of Hawthornden, Sir William Drummond, in a letter to his distinguished contemporary, "rare Ben Jonson," who was engaged in writing a treatise on that quaint species of composition, of

which many characteristic examples may be found in his own comedies:[1] "I have been curious," writes Drummond, "to find out for you the impresas[2] and emblems on a bed of state, wrought and embroidered all over with gold and silk by the late Queen Mary, mother to our sacred Sovereign, which will embellish greatly some pages of your book, and is worthy of your remembrance. The first is the loadstone turning towards the pole, the word, her Majesty's name turned into an anagram, *Marie Stuarta sa vertu m'attire*, which is not much inferior to *veritas armata* (armed truth), which is likewise meant as an anagram on Marie Stuarta. This hath reference to a crucifix, before which, with all her royal ornaments, she is humbled on her knees most *lively* (meaning lifelike). With the word *undique*—"on every side"—added, would signify 'that through the cross she is armed at all points.'"

The impresas of her mother, of Francis I., Henry II. of France, and her collateral ancestor, Godfrey of Bouillon, which are described by Sir W. Drummond, must, for the sake of brevity, be omitted. Those more applicable to herself

[1] Thus, in his "Alchymist," Abel Drugger wants an attractive sign to draw in customers. He is taken by the sharper about town, Captain Face, to the cunning man's den, who (after having advised him to bury a strong loadstone under his door, to draw in the gallants who wear steel spurs on their boots), proceeds thus:—

> "I will have his name
> Formed in some mystic character, whose radii,
> Striking the senses of the passers-by,
> Shall, by a virtual influence, breed affection
> That may result upon the party owns it.
> As thus: He shall have *a bell*,
> And that is Abel,
> And by it standing one whose name is Dee,
> In a rug gown. There's D and rug—that's Drug;
> And right anent him a dog snarling—er-r!
> There's Drugger, Abel Drugger—that's his sign—
> And here's now mystery and hieroglyphic."

[2] *Impresa*—an impression or device with a motto, from the verb Impress. *Milton* speaks of "impresses quaint." Impresas were much in vogue in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and Mary Stuart was considered to possess great skill in the composition of these pictorial metaphors. Sir William Drummond, in a letter to the Earl of Perth, explains that although there was an affinity between an emblem and an impresa, there was this difference—the motto attached to the emblem was to explain it, while the word or motto of the impresa expressed one part of the author's meaning, and the figures another, the whole being enigmatical. "Gravity and majesty must be in it, and it must be somewhat retired from the capacity of the vulgar. The words may be in any language."

are selected, as showing that a strain of melancholy moralising occupied the mind and pervaded even the needlework of this accomplished and unfortunate Princess. One of the impresas, wrought on this elaborate specimen of her taste and industry, was an apple-tree growing in a thorn, the motto being "*Per vincula crescit;*" implying thereby that her cause was increased by her captivity! Another of these allegories was Mercury charming Argus with his hundred eyes, expressed by a caduceus, two flutes, and a peacock, the motto, "*Eloquium tot lumina clausit;*" Eloquence has closed so many eyes!

Two women on the wheel of fortune, one holding the lance, emblematic of war, the other, the cornucopia of peace, which impresa evidently typified Queen Elizabeth and herself, the motto, "*Fortunæ comites,*" implying that which ever fortune favoured would prevail.

Her own widowed and desolate position is described by the impresa of a ship with her mast broken and fallen into the sea, and the motto "*Nunquam nisi rectam;*" Never till righted, or, Never unless erect!

Her maternal pride is expressed in the device of a lioness with her whelp beside her, and the words "*Unum quidem sed leonem;*" One only, but that one a lion!

Her bitter sense of the insolence of her inferiors is intimated by the emblem of a lion taken in a net, and hares wantonly passing over him, with the word, "*Et lepores devicto insultant leoni;*" The very hares trample on the fallen lion! As an antithesis, she describes the improving uses of adversity by camomile in a garden, and the motto "*Fructus calcata dat amplos;*" Trampled upon, she emitteth greater fragrance! Again, she typifies herself in the character of the palm-tree, with the motto, "*Ponderibus virtus innata risistit;*" Innate virtue resisteth oppression! Also as a bird in a cage with a hawk hovering above, the motto, which is in Italian, being "*Il mal me preme et me spaventa peggio;*" It is ill with me now, and I fear worse betides me!

Scarcely less pathetically applicable to her own sad case are Brennus's balances, a sword cast in the scale to weigh gold, the motto, "*Quid nisi victis dolor;*" What

remaineth for the vanquished but misery! In allusion to her great reverse, a wheel rolled from a mountain into the sea, the motto, "*Piena di dolor voida de speranza;*" Full of grief, empty of hope! A heap of wings and feathers dispersed, the motto implying that she had too powerful a neighbour, who rent her plumes and rifled her nest. The panoply of war, helmets, lances, corslets, pikes, muskets, and cannon, with this motto, "God can put an end to these things also." Eclipses of the sun and moon, the word glancing, as may appear, at Queen Elizabeth, figured as the eclipsing moon; "She taketh from herself the light she denieth to the earth." One of the most beautiful of these allegories, denoting the source from which Mary derived consolation under the pressure of her calamities, is the device of three crowns, two opposite and one above in the sky, the motto, *aliamque moratur*, implying that she, the rightful Queen of Scotland and England, awaits a crown celestial in the heavens! The last is the sun in an eclipse, with the motto, "*Medio occidit die;*" Darkened at noonday.

No fewer than thirty impresas, rebuses, and punning devices, were embroidered on this bed by Queen Mary and her ladies, besides much heraldic blazonry. "The workmanship," concludes Drummond of Hawthornden, "is curiously done, and truly it may be said of it, the execution surpassed the material."

The question has often been asked, How is it that women support calamities with greater fortitude than men? Their sensibilities are more acute, their physical force feebler, their reasoning powers are supposed to be of an inferior calibre. The enigma is, however, easily explained. Men give themselves up to morbid melancholy, brooding incessantly over their troubles: women divert their thoughts from dwelling exclusively on subjects of a painful nature, by employing their fingers in the sedative occupation of needlework. The salutary effect of sewing, knitting, and embroidering in calming the nerves of female patients is constantly proved in lunatic asylums. Mary Stuart probably preserved her overcharged heart from breaking, and her brain

from frenzied excitement, by occupying those hands which had been accustomed to wield the sceptre, and the orb of empire, in composing and tracing, with the needle allegorical illustrations of her misfortunes. How much wiser it was of the discrowned and imprisoned Queen to calm her vexed spirit by practising these self-taught lessons of patience and philosophy, than if she had wearied the faithful companions of her captivity with perpetual tears and lamentations, or chafed herself into paroxysms of unavailing rage against the authors of her calamities!

MARY STUART.

CHAPTER XLIX.

SUMMARY.

Imprisonment of Queen Mary at Tutbury Castle *continued*—Her delusive hopes of Moray's assistance—Lord Herries sends her a copy of his proclamation—She writes to Queen Elizabeth and Cecil complaining of Moray's false statements—Elizabeth's caressing reply and exulting announcement of the defection of Mary's Lords—Mary's sarcastic rejoinder—Mary removed to Wingfield Manor—Her dangerous illness—Her letter to Norfolk—Mary's death reported—Elizabeth's uneasiness—Sends her physician—Congratulatory letter on Mary's recovery—Anger of Elizabeth at Mary's reported cession of her rights to the Duke of Anjou—Mary's uneasiness—Entreats the royal family of France to contradict the report—Mary's pecuniary distress—She is unable to pay her English physicians—Informs Lesley of her destitution—He tells the Duke of Norfolk—Money sent to her by Norfolk—Sum extorted by Thomas Bishop—Imprudent dealings with Rodolphi for money—His dangerous intrigues—Mary enters into a treaty with Elizabeth for her restoration to her realm—The terms stipulated—Increasing popularity of Mary with the English nobles—Leicester coalesces with her friends—They propose a marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk—Letter written by Leicester and Pembroke to Mary—Her reply—Contract between her and Norfolk—Committed to the keeping of the French ambassador—Mary's Letter to Norfolk.

NEVER was Mary more completely under the delusion of false hopes than the first month after her arrival at Tutbury Castle. In fond reliance on her usurping brother's promises, she had despatched Lord Herries to Scotland with instructions for her loyal adherents there to attend the Convention of Nobles the Earl of Moray was about to assemble, as he intended to make it the necessary prelude for obtaining her restoration to liberty and her royal

estate. The Convention was, indeed, summoned by Moray, but for the purpose of entrapping those peers whom he could not succeed in either seducing or bribing from their allegiance to their captive Sovereign. The majority of the great nobles, distrusting Moray, paid no attention to the summons; but the Duke of Châtelherault and Lord Herries, knowing that Queen Mary and Norfolk had entered into a secret treaty with him, and being impressed with a firm belief in the sincerity of his intentions, boldly presented themselves at the Convention, and had, in the first place, the mortification of discovering, not only how completely their royal mistress had been the dupe of his perfidious professions, but of finding their names paraded as deserters from her cause, and seceders to his party. Herries wrote to her immediately, explaining the real state of the case, and, to convince her of it, sent her a copy of a proclamation put forth by Moray, asserting "that at the Conference she had been found guilty, and the Queen of England had passed sentence against her."

Mary instantly addressed letters both to Cecil and Elizabeth, complaining of this falsehood, and sent them by her trusty messenger Borthwick, who had also verbal instructions to deliver in the way of remonstrance. Mary's letter to Cecil is very temperate, and appears to have been written in the vain hope of inducing him to use his good offices with his royal mistress in her behalf.

QUEEN MARY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

"From Tutbury, the 13th of March.

"MESTER CECIL,—Having received a copy of a proclamation made by my rebels, and since a letter from milord Herries, informing me of things to which I could not give faith, being so opposed to my expectation, from the promises that had been made to me to the contrary, I could not refrain from writing frankly to the Queen my good sister, for they are matters in honour and conscience touching me so sensibly that longer I could not suppress my complaints. I have charged this bearer to communicate these to you, praying you to hear him favourably and give credit to what he will tell you from me; and if for my misfortune the Queen should regard my letters as importunate or disagreeable, as it has happened before, remind her that the cause which moves me is the justice of my right rather than the rudeness and freedom of my pen, doing this good office for me for no other respect than equity, that I may have a positive answer

from the Queen, from whom I desire and hope to receive comfort, or at least determination. As for the false reports they have made of me, both in regard to things particular and general, I hope that Time, the father of truth, and my innocence, will bring remedy. I will not therefore enter farther into the subject, save to beg you, as I told your servant at Bolton, to reserve one ear for my use without partiality, and I hope my innocence and the sincerity of my conduct may merit better, if they are closely considered by you and the other good servants of the Queen my good sister. And commending myself to your good grace, I pray God to give you, Monsieur Cecil, long and happy life.

"From Tutbury the 13th of March,

"Your very good friend,

"MARIE R."

Endorsed—"A Mester Cecil, Segriterre principal de la Royne Madame ma bonne sœur."[1]

She addressed Elizabeth in the style of an equal:—"I send Borthwick, the bearer of this, to you," she writes, "with the copy of some points contained in a proclamation made by my rebels, where they make mention of a sentence given by you on the cause in dispute, by them falsely represented in your presence and that of your council. I entreat you to read and consider it, and let me know your mind by this bearer. The case is too important to brook longer delay without understanding your intentions, both in respect to that, and for redress of the unjust proceedings of your ministers on the Borders: those at Carlisle capture my servants, seize and open their letters, and send them to the Court; 'far from what was promised and written to me that it was not intended for me to have less liberty than before.' Very different is the treatment of my rebels, with whom I do not think I am on an equality, for they have been well received by you, with liberty to come and go, and sent continually supplies of money, and as they say (which you will be pleased to see by the accompanying letter), 'assured of the support of men at their need.' And thus are they maintained who have falsely accused and endeavoured to brand me with infamy, while I, who came to throw myself into your arms, am refused the countenance which is given to these offenders. I shall be constrained, to my regret, to seek it elsewhere, if I am not, according

[1] Translated from the original French holograph—State Paper Office.

to my hope and desire, assisted with prompt succour. I am removed farther from my country, and detained, while your presence, so requisite for my justification, is denied; and at last all means are cut off and denied of hearing from my people, and making them understand my pleasure. I do not think I have deserved such treatment. I confided in you, and you have been pleased to support my rebels in all their enterprises against me, although I have done as you counselled, and refrained, in compliance with your request, from seeking any other aid than yours, not only desiring to please you, but to obey you as a daughter would her mother."[1] A compliment, by the by, little calculated to conciliate a Princess who was only nine years her senior, and never would allow herself to be considered old. Nothing could be more ill-judged than Mary's allusions to the difference in their age, and the foolish assumption that she was to be the survivor, which her persevering requisition to be acknowledged as the successor to the Crown of England implied. Mary could not refrain from mentioning, in the same letter, her recent forbearance to her adversaries on their return to Scotland. "I might," observed she, "have had them so well saluted on the Border as to leave them small opportunity for levying soldiers for the ruin *on* my poor people."[2] With more sincerity than prudence she again warns Elizabeth that, "in the event of her continuing inexorable, she will seek succour elsewhere." She wrote also by Borthwick to La Mothe Fénélon the French Ambassador, with whom she contrived by means of trusty friends to keep up a secret correspondence, and on whom she always relied for correct information of passing events in France, England, and Scotland, much that was false being communicated to her from other quarters for deceptive purposes. "When I hear of anything that is going on at a distance," writes she to him, "I am always in doubt till I receive letters from you, for, though I do not believe all the reports and alarms they give me, I cannot help being uneasy in the mean time. I am strictly guarded, as this

[1] Mary to Elizabeth, Tutbury, March 19, 1569—Labanoff.
[2] Ibid.

bearer will tell you; and they stop and search all messengers whom they conceive have letters for or from me. If you and I had a cipher I should not involve others in so much peril by writing to you."[1]

At the end of a fortnight Mary received Elizabeth's answer to her last letter, utterly denying having given the rebels cause to make the assertions they had done. Her expressions are worthy of attention. "Madame, having learned your grievances, and understanding that you are greatly annoyed about some words contained in the proclamations made by your subjects, signifying that I had given sentence against you, I am much astonished that you should have felt so much trouble in fancying them to be true; for, if so be they have written them, how could it enter into your thought that I should have had so little value for my honour, or so much have forgotten my natural affection for you, as to condemn you before I had heard your reply, and so little regard to order as to have concluded before I had begun?"[2] Then, provokingly ignoring Mary's solemn denial of the accusation, and denunciation of the accusing party, she observes "that she had awaited her declaration on the subject, and in the mean time had hushed up the case, and made Lord Moray and the others oblige themselves, before herself and Council, not to annoy the other party." She does not impute any blame to the conspirators, nor find fault with them for having broken their engagements to that effect; but vexatiously adds the following intelligence, just received through the veracious channel of a person whom, if she had had the slightest regard for her royal honour, she would not have admitted to her presence after his avowed invention of the secret instructions he had communicated to his master in Cecil's name, much less would she have mentioned him to Mary as her authority:—

"Yesterday, John Wood made me a long declaration 'how the Duke [of Châtelherault] and the other Lords

[1] Queen Mary to La Mothe Fénélon, Tutbury, March 15, 1569—Despatches of La Mothe Fénélon.

[2] Depêches de La Mothe Fénélon, vol. i. p. 344.

have submitted to your son as their King, and, by an harangue made by my Lord Herries before all the Council, had approved of all that has passed touching your imprisonment, as having been wisely determined.'"[1]

Not contented with the ill-natured pleasure of communicating this untruthful but mortifying statement to Mary with her own pen, Elizabeth desired to learn what effect it had produced on the sensitive temperament of the royal captive. "Of the matters of Scotland," writes Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury, "her Majesty would be glad to understand how that Queen doth digest them."[2] Shrewsbury's answer is not recorded, and Mary has spoken for herself. She suspected Lord Herries had been compelled to temporise, but knew he was incapable of acting the part asserted by her august correspondent, and with quiet dignity replied—alluding, in the first place, to Elizabeth's denial of having used the expressions imputed to her in the proclamation: "Inasmuch as the false allegations of my rebels, both in your Court and in their proclamations, have annoyed me, although I attach little credit to what proceeds from those whom I have proved too well, the greater is the pleasure conveyed by your loving declarations to the contrary."[3] Then, adverting to the vexatious report communicated by Elizabeth, she sarcastically observes:—

"In regard to the intelligence you have been pleased to give me, for which I thank you affectionately, I can form no judgment whether it be correct; for I promise you, on my faith, I have not heard a single word from Scotland since my arrival, save what I wrote to you about the proclamation, from my Lord Herries, by which I cannot believe he would so far forget himself, as it would appear by the articles M. de *Cherusbery* (the Earl of Shrewsbury) showed me by your command. However, as these have been sent, I desire, of course, to learn the truth, and that with such diligence as the matter requires, if the messenger be not stopped, as I fear, although M. de Cherusbery has assured his passage. I promise to apprise you of the first certain information I receive, either by the Bishop of Ross or my other faithful servant. In the mean time, I can tell you, that if these things have actually occurred, their despair at seeing me detained, and all means of communication from me cut off, will have been the cause."[4]

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[1] Ibid., March 30.
[2] April 9, 1569. Lodge, vol. ii.
[3] Mary to Elizabeth, April 8, 1569. Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 342-343.
[4] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 314.

She concludes with an earnest entreaty to be restored to Scotland, "whatsoever may have befallen, or may befall her, there," and repeats her honest but rash declaration, "that if succour be denied, she is resolved to seek it from others not so nearly allied in blood."[1]

Mary also wrote[2] to Cecil expressing her pleasure at receiving so agreeable a letter from the Queen her good sister, informing her of the news from her own realm, though she did not believe the intelligence was true; and, not wishing to importune the Queen, begs him to second the request she had preferred in her reply, and thanks him for his civility to her messenger.[3] The conciliatory tone she now adopted to the ruler of Elizabeth's councils was probably in compliance with Norfolk's advice, who, believing him very much his friend, had informed him of his desire of marrying her, provided the consent of Queen Elizabeth could be obtained. Incredible as the infatuation of Norfolk in seeking such a confidant may appear, it is too strongly attested to be doubted, and was not more opposed to common sense than trusting Moray, who had so often deceived and betrayed his Sovereign, and whose interest it was to consummate her ruin.[4]

In consequence, probably, of the irritating communications made to Elizabeth by her Premier, she was wound up to such a pitch of exasperation as to declare "that the Queen of Scots' head should never rest,"[5] and took the sudden resolution of removing her from Tutbury to Wingfield Manor House.

This new prison of Mary Stuart—her fourth since her arrival in England—was a strong and stately castle, built by Ralph, Lord Cromwell, one of Henry VI.'s Ministers of State, on the brow of a precipitous Derbyshire hill, in a wild secluded district, but commanding an extensive prospect over the picturesque valley of Ashover and its undulations, shut out, as it were, from the rest of the world by a range

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 315. [2] Good Friday, April 8. [3] Ibid.
[4] Lesley's Negotiations—in Anderson. Letter from Sussex to Cecil, September 11, 1569—Wright's Elizabeth. Howard Memorials. Lingard.
[5] Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots.

of mountains whose summits appear to mingle with the horizon. The remains of this feudal abode prove it to have been built with great regard to elegance; the light springing windows, richly wrought with carved tracery, the lofty arches and high embowed ceilings, are of the most graceful proportions. The Queen's apartments are supposed to have looked towards the west; but there is no reason to believe she ever occupied the dark dismal cell now pointed out as her dormitory. In the most dreary periods of her captivity, Mary had her ante-room, presence-chamber, privy-chamber, bedroom, and cabinet, and some closet which she herself always fitted up as an oratory; and it was not till the sentence of death was announced to her at Fotheringay that the officials of Queen Elizabeth presumed to deprive her of her regal canopy and dais. She enjoyed, no doubt, the same outward ceremonials of state at Wingfield Manor House as at Bolton Castle, Sheffield, Chatsworth, and Tutbury Castle.

Wingfield is now a roofless pile; not only briers, but tall trees, have sprung up within the grass-grown courts. The desolate halls are mantled with ivy and wildflowers. Nothing can be more picturesque and imposing than the first view of its grey turrets rising in solemn grandeur above the trees that now embosom this once sternly-fortified prison, where the hapless heiress-presumptive of Great Britain was doomed to pine away many a weary month of captivity.

The lovely scenery about Wingfield Manor, with its bold free range of hills, reminding her of her hunting-grounds in Fifeshire, must, however, have been more congenial with Mary Stuart's taste than the watery wastes that surrounded her noxious abode at Tutbury. The traditions of more than one romantic site in her own realm, bear record of names changed or bestowed by her in a transport of sudden delight and admiration. Once, when on her hunting progress in the highlands of Inverness, she arrived late on a misty evening at the beautiful Cistercian priory which now forms a portion of Lord Lovat's domain, where she rested for the night; but when she beheld, the next morning, the

magnificent prospect from the window of her chamber, she rapturously exclaimed, "*Ah beau lieu, beau lieu! c'est un beau lieu!*" and ever after the river and district retained the name of Beaulieu or Beauly.[1]

Neither the particulars of Mary's transfer from Tutbury Castle, nor the precise day of her arrival, are known; but it was probably in the Easter week, for she dates a letter from Tutbury on the 9th of April,[2] requesting La Mothe Fénélon, the French Ambassador, to convey her congratulations to her royal mother-in-law, the Queen of France, on her recovery from sickness, and her felicitations on the brilliant victory of Jarnac, won by Henry Duke of Anjou;[3] and the 18th of the same month she writes to him from Wingfield, whither she must have been removed in the interim. In that letter she communicates the disastrous tidings of the blow her cause in Scotland had just received by the success of the Regent's treacherous plot for entrapping Lord Herries and the Duke of Châtelherault, whose conduct had been, as she suspected, entirely misrepresented to her by Queen Elizabeth; but the account of the transaction will be best and most concisely related by Queen Mary's lively pen:—

"From Wingfield, the 18th of April, 1569.[4]

"MONSIEUR DE LA MOTHE,—By letters I have received from Scotland, since the departure of the Bishop of Ross, I have learned how matters there have befallen, which is, that the Duke of Châtelherault and the others who were still in my service, finding themselves destitute of all succour, and pressed by my rebels, who had leisure to prepare for them before they were permitted to depart from this country, and were moreover strengthened with money from here to raise and maintain soldiers, and besides this, assisted openly with English horse and foot by my Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, were constrained to deport themselves in accordance with the intimation of the Queen of England, who told the Duke of Châtelherault at his departure, 'that if he would not acknowledge the authority of my son, he might expect neither favour nor support from her, but, on the contrary, she would do him all the injury she could.'[5]

[1] Statistical Account of Scotland, published by Blackwood, vol. xiv. Hist. Inverness-shire. [2] Labanoff, ii. 316. [3] Ibid., p. 324.

[4] Depêches de La Mothe Fénélon, vol. i. p. 376.

[5] Mary, in a previous letter, mentioned this hostile proceeding of Elizabeth, adding, in allusion to his constitutional brain-complaint, "that the poor *Duke's head* was almost turned by it."

Under these circumstances, he and Lord Herries trusted their persons to the Earl of Moray, who, as soon as they were in his power, arrested and sent them as prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh, where they are still detained, in order to force them, as they say, to agree to certain articles which he has proposed to them besides their submission. They have complained of him, and supplicated me to employ my friends in their behalf, protesting that what they did was to reserve to themselves the power of still serving me, and to escape utter ruin, seeing the Queen of England leagued with my rebels, and that if, to save their lives and get out of prison, they condescend hereafter to the other matter, they entreat me to believe that it will only last till they have help."

She then begs La Mothe to represent their case to the Court of France, entreating "also his good offices to obtain succours for her loyal friends at Dumbarton; for they were at that time in such distress that Lord Fleming had sent word to her it would be impossible for them to hold out longer than the beginning of June, unless relief were sent."

By way of postscript, she adds, "I have just received the advice herewith enclosed from the Earl of Huntley, of which I have had a translation made, word for word, for the purpose of sending it to you. I believe he will do as he has said; for besides the obligation he owes me for his life and property, which I have given him, he has a deadly feud with the Earl of Moray, who has done to death his father and his brother, and would do the like by him, if he could, and exterminate his house."

Thus Mary, who had had too painful reason to be accurately acquainted with all the facts connected with the Gordon tragedy, positively denounces her ambitious brother as the murderer both of the late Earl of Huntley and his son Sir John Gordon, to whose destruction she had reluctantly been rendered subservient, and manifests her own innocence by her reliance on the gratitude of the representative of the family, who must, of course, have been aware of what her real conduct and feelings on that occasion had been. That peer was the most powerful and efficient champion of her cause. "The Earl of Huntley," continues she, "holds still in my name all the northern counties in obedience, and has overawed all those who would league with my rebels; and, with a little aid, would have means

to come and look after them, or at least to take from them much of the country, and possess himself of several places of importance; and if, from the side of Dumbarton, there could be a junction with him, the whole of the west country would be sure to rise in my favour, whatever appointment or promise there may be between the Duke of Châtelherault and the Earl of Moray, for neither of these two can long continue to exist if the other be not wholly ruined and destroyed. I beseech you, Monsieur de la Mothe, to give information of this to the King, and supplicate him again to accord succour to my poor afflicted realm; and if his own affairs will not permit him as yet to give me his entire support, that it will at least please him not to allow me to lose Dumbarton for the want of munitions and a little money."[1]

Huntley, whose natural distrust of Moray had been the means of preserving him from the trap into which Lord Herries and the more credulous loyalists had fallen, writes in the free spirited style of a brave and manly soldier to his captive liege lady, and though the Duke of Châtelherault was his father-in-law, does not in any way spare him; indeed, he appears to treat his misfortune as a crime. His letter is full of character.

"I have before this written to your Majesty, by the means of the Lord Herries, the trick the Duke of Châtelherault and his party have played in agreeing with the Earl of Moray, of which I knew nothing till they summoned me one day to Edinburgh, which I refused. I entreat your Majesty to hasten him to explain his intentions. For being so far off I cannot be sure of any but my Lord Crawford and my Lord Ogilvy, who have had nothing to do with them. Wherefore, if I can avoid my total ruin, I will not do anything till I have your Majesty's instructions. Otherwise I entreat you not to take in evil part anything I may be forced to do, for be assured that as long as I live you will find me faithful to your service, and that I would rather meet my death by the traitors than do aught to displease your Majesty. They have very shamefully deceived you, and before the mischief falls on me (which I should not in the least regard, provided I could serve your Majesty), I supplicate very humbly for a speedy succour of foreigners, or the return of your Majesty, if it be possible. Whatever it may be, if an army come from France, cause the descent to be made on the north, for there it is the most sure, and I will hazard everything for your service.

[1] Depêches de La Mothe Fénélon, vol. i. p. 376.

"However matters may have happened, the Duke of Châtelherault has not acted honourably, either in your Majesty's cause or to me, which makes me humbly supplicate that you would hasten the aid of France and Spain, and I will take everything on myself. Two thousand, even five hundred men, would suffice with proper munitions. I entreat your Majesty to be assured that all Europe shall know that my life and all I have are at your command.

"The bearer is sure, and I beseech your Majesty to direct me by him what it may please you I should do."

All Mary could do was to exhort Huntley to continue firm to her cause. She had addressed, two or three days previously, a royal circular to the same effect to her brother-in-law, the Earl of Argyll, entreating him to exert himself to throw succours into Dumbarton to assist her loyal friend Lord Fleming and his garrison to hold out. Her autograph postscript is a great curiosity, being one of her earliest attempts to write in Scotch. Its meaning is to express her satisfaction that, by avoiding any conference with the rebels, he had escaped the snare into which the Duke of Châtelherault had fallen, and begging him to have no dealings with that party.[1]

Mary also wrote to comfort the Duke of Châtelherault in his captivity, "acknowledging the receipt of his letters by his servant, Andrew Hamilton, informing her of his incarceration, and supplicating her aid and intercession with the Queen of England and the Courts of France and Spain for his deliverance." She promises "to exert herself to the utmost in his behalf," and in an autograph postscript, written, like that to Argyll, in her almost unintelligible attempts at Scotch, exhorts him "not to fear, but to bide constant, and he will obtain relief one way or other."[2]

She accredited the Bishop of Ross as her ambassador to Elizabeth's Court, he having succeeded in exonerating himself from the suspicion of planning her escape; and Elizabeth, in the hope of being able to tamper with him, received him in that capacity. His first commission was to represent the outrage committed by the Earl of Moray by the arrest of the Duke of Châtelherault and her other loyal servants, and to entreat Elizabeth to insist on their release; but this,

[1] Labanoff. [2] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 345.

like all her other applications to that Princess, proved unavailing. Mary wrote to Elizabeth herself on the subject, but in vain; she complained also "of the manner in which the Duke's servant, bringing letters to her, had been arrested at Berwick, and his letters taken from him, and that she found herself, in defiance of all the promises that had been made to her, cut off from intelligence with either Scotland or France;" speaking her mind, as usual, far more plainly than prudence warranted.[1] "As to the news from Scotland," she sarcastically observes, "Sandy Bog having been despoiled of his letters, which my Lord Hunsdon sent off by an express to you, you are better able to give me information on that subject, unless, indeed, what the Duke [of Châtelherault], his brother the Archbishop [Hamilton], and Lord Herries have written to me."[2]

Mary wrote at greater length and with increased earnestness to Elizabeth two days later:—

"From *Wingfield*, April 28, 1569.

"Having received, since the departure of Sandy Bog, letters from some of my loyal subjects, by one of my gentlemen, and among others from the Duke of Châtelherault, complaining of 'being detained as prisoners, and threatened if they did not accord with Moray and his accomplices,' it appears to me that you ought to be informed of the same, because their enemies have said 'that they had freely consented to his usurpation;' and also let me remind you that in your last letter you wrote 'that you had taken order that Moray should not proceed by force of arms,' but I wish to assure you that since he has not kept that engagement in any respect, having laid hands on some of the most considerable of my subjects, and would force them to acknowledge and approve of all that has been perversely done against me. It is no longer time to dally. Wherefore I entreat you, without trifling with me any more, to give me a brief answer by the Bishop of Ross, whether you will please to restore me to my own realm according to my prayer, or else give me a plain denial, to put me out of this weary suspense. The state of my affairs compels me to speak thus freely, and to press you to let me know at once what your intentions are; for whatever answer I receive from you, except the accordance of my earnest suit, I shall consider only tending to delay the time, and take as a positive refusal, which would be the cause of my accepting, however reluctantly, any other aid that it may please God to send me. I do not willingly make this declaration, but lest you should take in ill part and be annoyed at

[1] Labanoff, p. 329-334.

[2] Mary Stuart to Queen Elizabeth.—"From *Windefield* this 26 of April 1569. Written in haste."—Labanoff, vol. ii. p. 332.

the result. I assure you I will never do anything to displease you, if by any other means I can save my state, and deliver my ill-treated subjects from the oppression of the rebels. I entreat you, Madam, to bind me to you by friendship and good offices, and not by the strict guard of those who desire not that I should obtain the fruit of my exertions; and I will render you all the love and duty that could be yielded by a younger to an elder and beloved sister."[1]

The Regent Moray, meantime, followed up his daring and successful stroke of treachery by sweeping through Scotland with a great military force, using such extremity against the Queen's loyal subjects "in robbing, *pilling* [spoiling] their houses and goods, taking their lands and heritages, imprisoning the persons of some, and levying enormous taxes and compositions upon others, as the like was never used in any time passed," says Lesley, "since that realm was first inhabited, and that for no other crime but only for their goodwill shown by their due obedience to the just authority of their native Princess and sovereign lady the Queen. Whereupon was raised such crying, murmuring, and clamour of the countrymen so wrongfully oppressed, that the same did ascend to the heaven, and was well heard, as it appeared, in God's ears, and procured a just and sudden revenge to some of the authors thereof."[2]

Several months, however, elapsed ere the retribution, to which the eloquent historian here alludes, overtook the man whose selfish ambition inflicted so many miseries on Scotland, as well as Scotland's royal Mary. While her bloom was prematurely doomed to wither in a comfortless English prison, and her high spirit, chafing like that of the cooped eagle that beats itself to death against the bars of its cage, was ready to burst its mortal tenement to escape the thrall, all went prosperously with him. The resources of her realm, her private property, were in his hands, and employed against her, and, bitterer far, her only child rendered the cover for his usurpation. Argyll, and at last even Huntley, despairing of her liberation, and intimidated by the rigorous treatment of the Duke of Châtelherault, Lord Herries, and other noble loyalists, considered it best to temporise, and

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii. [2] Lesley's Negotiations. Melville's Memoirs.

on the 10th of May signed a treaty consenting to acknowledge his illegal authority.

By a strange coincidence, Queen Mary, who was too far distant to have received the intelligence of this terrible blow, was attacked the same day with a sudden and mysterious illness, accompanied with shivering fits, vomiting, and convulsions, which brought her to the verge of the grave. These alarming symptoms appeared a few minutes after she had taken pills, administered by her own physician, and, as she informed the Bishop of Ross, "reduced her to a state resembling that in which he had seen her during her dangerous sickness at Jedburgh:" like that, it was of an intermittent character.[1]

After twelve hours of acute suffering she found herself sufficiently recovered to write short notes, both to the Bishop of Ross and La Mothe Fénélon, describing the nature of her attack, and declaring that she was so much amended as to hope she should soon be well again. The next day, however, she was worse, and confined to her bed with fever. The arrival of a messenger with a token, and letter in cipher, from the Duke of Norfolk, appears to have agitated her very much in her weak and precarious state. We gather from the tenor of her incoherent reply that he had heard his letters to her had been carried off, in consequence of her leaving her keys about, also that he had been jealous of her not having written to him so often as he wished. "The letters," she tells him, "are safe, and her keys in no such peril as he apprehended, and no one shall be trusted to oversee them; she trusts none more than she is compelled."

"And if," continues she, "you will appoint one you trust to have to do that I may not, I am contented, for I assure you I write as much as I may do, and spare not my travail, for I have none other matters in head than them you have in hand, to be occupied with; and I fear that it is too busy upon me presently, that I have not taken very much ease this last night, so that I am not able to write further, and this in pain, being in fever. I pray you take it not in evil part, for I mind it not. I thought yesternight to have sent you the token you sent, to pray you not to leave your care of me for any extremity. I send the Bishop of Ross letters from Scotland; do you in them as you think best. I may write no more.—As

[1] May 10, 1559—Labanoff.

soon as I be anything amended I shall write more plainly. I pray God preserve you; and if you send me any news, I pray God they be more comfortable.

"From my bed, the 11th of May.

"I shall do what I may to be soon up, and, for your answer to my last letters, shall fully resolve you daily with letters. My trembling hand here will write no more." [1]

So serious was Mary's illness, that her death was reported in London.[2] "Elizabeth, whether conscience-stricken or from political expediency, manifested great concern, and sent her own physician to ascertain how matters were, and, if she still lived, to tender his assistance." The sympathy excited in that quarter is mentioned by Cecil in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, coupled with a suggestion of his own, "that it were good the physician were reproved for his audacity in putting his royal mistress to such peril, as it was said he had done the like before."[3]

Elizabeth herself addressed a letter of congratulation to Mary on her convalescence, expressing her own satisfaction that the illness had not proved fatal, in the following somewhat hyperbolical strain:—

"GREENWICH PALACE, May 5, 1569.

"Madam,[4]—To my infinite regret I have learned the great danger in which you have lately been, and I praise God that I heard nothing of it until the worst was past, for in whatever time or place it might have been, such news could have given me little content; but if any such bad accident had befallen you in this country, I believe verily I should have deemed my days prolonged too long, if previous to death I had received such a wound. I rely much on His goodness who hath hitherto guarded me against malaccidents, that I may not be permitted to fall into such a trouble, and that He will preserve me in the good opinion of the world till the end of my career. He has made me know by this means the grief I should have felt if anything ill had happened to you, and I assure you I will offer up infinite thanksgivings to Him."

Well did Elizabeth know that, if Mary's sudden and mysterious attack of illness had proved fatal, all the world

[1] Labanoff, vol. ii.

[2] "The Queen of Scots," wrote La Mothe Fénélon to the King of France, "has been extremely ill. It was sent word to me yesterday evening at Vespers that she was dead, but at eleven at night I had information that she was better, and there were good hopes of her recovery." Despatches of La Mothe Fénélon.

[3] Lodge, vol. ii. [4] Despatches of La Mothe Fénélon, ii. 59, 60.

would have attributed it to poison administered by her order, from which imputation it would not have been easy for her to exonerate herself. She had therefore cause for thanksgiving that such a catastrophe did not occur at that peculiar crisis. A few years later she would have hailed it as a most auspicious event.[1] The sequel of her letter is in a less friendly tone, being in reply to one addressed to her by Mary a few days previously, containing a solemn denial of the report that she had ceded to the Duke of Anjou whatever rights she possessed to the Crown of England. Mary's letter was as follows:—

"Having understood by the Bishop of Ross, my councillor, that some objections were made to hinder the prompt demonstrations of your goodwill towards me, on the allegation that I had made some contracts with Monsieur d'Anjou, the brother of the King my brother, that might prejudice you, I force myself to write, not having yet recovered my health, by these ill-written letters, to assure you on my conscience, honour, and credit, that I have never made any such contract with him, nor any other, nor done aught that could tend to your prejudice since I arrived at years of discretion; neither would I do anything so disadvantageous to my country and myself. Of this I can give you any proof, pledge, and assurance you may require, as the Bishop of Ross will tell you more at length. I entreat you to believe him, and excuse me, for I am too feeble to write to you as I could wish on this subject, only I force myself to render you the testimony of my hand, to which I call God to witness, and beseech Him to have you in His holy keeping.

"This Sunday morning, 15th of May 1569."[2]

Elizabeth replied, "she did not doubt Mary's word, but thought it possible the cession might have been made in her name by some relation or ambassador;" adding sundry ominous hints, implying the ill consequences that might result from it to her in her present situation.[3] Mary wrote to La Mothe Fénélon, imploring him to mention to the royal family of France the awkward position in which she found herself, and obtain a legal declaration from the Duke of Anjou that no such cession had been made to him.

The report that Mary had done so originated in a misrepresentation of the deed to which Henry II. of France,

[1] See her letter to Sir Amias Paulet, suggesting the secret murder of Mary at Fotheringay Castle.

[2] Despatches of La Mothe Fénélon, vol. ii. pp. 59, 60.

[3] Ibid.

taking an unfair advantage of her tender age and inexperience, had obtained her signature, previous to her marriage with his son, the Dauphin Francis, bequeathing all the rights she possessed in Scotland and Ireland to him and his successors, in the event of her dying without lawful issue.[1] It is doubtful whether Mary understood the purport of the document she then signed, being only a girl of fifteen; but even if it were explained to her, the fact of Anne, Duchess of Bretagne, having, previously to her marriage with Louis XII. of France, executed a similar instrument with regard to the annexation of her dominions to the heirs of her august consort, would have been a precedent sufficient to silence any demurs she might have made, as Anne of Bretagne had not only arrived at years of discretion, but was accounted one of the wisest and most politic of female Sovereigns.

When Mary was restored to convalescence, she found herself in such pecuniary straits, that she had not wherewithal to satisfy the claims of two extra physicians, Dr Francis and Dr Caldwell, whom her keeper, the Earl of Shrewsbury, had summoned to her assistance in the first alarm of her dangerous attack of illness. Though not the only lady, Mary Stuart was perhaps the only female sovereign who ever found herself in so mortifying a predicament. Under these circumstances, she despatched her confidential messenger, Borthwick, to London, to tell Lesley, Bishop of Ross, that she was utterly destitute of money for that or any other purpose. Lesley, who was then residing in London as her accredited representative, and living on his own means, having exhausted both cash and credit, had no other resource than to acquaint the Duke of Norfolk with the distress of his captive Sovereign and her faithful followers. "Neither the Queen of Scots, nor any of ye, shall lack," was the reply of the generous English peer,[2] and he immediately delivered two hundred pounds to Borthwick to relieve her present exigencies; but as there were pressing demands in London for her service, Norfolk afterwards sent three hundred pounds more for her personal use.[3] Borth-

[1] See Vol. iii., Lives of the Queens of Scotland, p. 70.
[2] Lesley's Examinations, in Murdin, p. 27. [3] Ibid.

wick, however, demanded forty pounds of this money for his services, having probably indebted himself to that amount in his journeys backwards and forwards.

Thomas Bishop, the reader's old acquaintance, who, having acquired an estate[1] in Yorkshire, and by some means wormed himself into Mary's confidence during her abode at Bolton Castle, had been employed by her in her correspondence with Norfolk, and having been arrested on suspicion, and thrown into the Tower, sent his son Francis to request three hundred pounds of her; and she, fearing, if she did not comply with his inconvenient demand, that he would betray all he knew, sent him the money she had just received, and informed Norfolk of what she had done; whereupon Norfolk sent her another hundred pounds for herself, and sixty-six pounds to pay the charges of the two physicians, his disbursements amounting in all to £966, which Lesley regarded as so large a sum that he facetiously warned Mary "that she would spend all the dower silver before she had her man,"[2] and advised her "not to have any more money from him, but rather to raise what was needed in France or Flanders." Mary sent her secretary, Raulet, to France for that purpose, but he only wasted his time in a series of fruitless endeavours to procure a loan for the service of his royal mistress. In this emergency, Lesley, Bishop of Ross, obtained from the Spanish ambassador a bill of exchange for ten thousand Italian crowns, drawn on Roberto Rodolphi, the head of the Florentine company in London,[3] a near relation of the house of Medicis, and the secretly accredited resident minister of the Pope in England. With that money[4] Mary discharged her debt to Norfolk, and sent relief to her impoverished adherents in Scotland; but the accommodation, however necessary, was dearly paid for, by entangling her and her faithful followers in the intrigues of the busy and troublesome instrument of the papal cause, whose object was to break her engagement

[1] See the Biography of Margaret, Countess of Lennox, Vol. ii., Lives of the Queens of Scotland.

[2] Examinations of Bishop Lesley, in Murdin, p. 27. [3] Ibid.

[4] Note in Labanoff's Résume Chronologique, privately printed at St Petersburg, 1856.

with the Protestant Norfolk, for the purpose of marrying her to Don John of Austria, and rendering her the head of the Roman Catholic revolt that was on the eve of breaking out in the northern counties.

That Mary had no intention of disturbing Elizabeth's government must be apparent from her earnest endeavours at this period to conclude, through her representative, Lesley, Bishop of Ross, a treaty with her royal detainer for her restoration to liberty and her own realm, even on the derogatory conditions of consenting to associate her infant boy with herself in the sovereignty of Scotland, and permit her usurping brother to govern the realm in their joint names, agreeing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and submitting to various other demands, which she had hitherto strenuously refused.[1] Elizabeth, after she had considered these terms, required the Bishop of Ross to deliver them in writing to her Council, and to enter into conference with them on the subject. Great part of the month of May was spent in deliberating on the terms to be adopted. Several clauses were added, for the satisfaction of the Earl of Moray and his faction; free pardon and indemnity for all who had offended her were guaranteed by Queen Mary, together with full security that no alteration should be made in the established religion. She consented to legalise Bothwell's forfeiture, to render his banishment perpetual, and to procure a divorce from him.[2]

At last the English Council and Mary's representative considered everything settled; even John Wood, Moray's envoy, professed himself content; but Elizabeth demurred, delaring she was not satisfied about the alleged cession, which, it was said, Mary had made of her claims on the crown of England to the Duke of Anjou. An instrument, at Mary's request, was executed, and sent over by that Prince, fully exonerating "his well-beloved sister, the Queen of Scotland, from ever having made any such transfer or cession of her rights to him."[3] Mary also addressed letters to Cecil and the Privy Council of England, containing a formal denial of having done so. Her party,

[1] Lesley's Negotiations; Camden. [2] Ibid.; Haynes; Lingard. [3] Labanoff.

among the English aristocracy, was now daily increasing in strength and importance, affording thereby convincing testimony that no credit was attached to the monstrous charges that had been brought against her, by her accusers, during the conferences at York and Westminster. Among the ostensible supporters of her cause were included the Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Pembroke, Sussex, and Southampton, the Lords Clinton and Lumley, the Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Derby and Cumberland; and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.[1] Hatred to Cecil, who had successfully used his influence over Queen Elizabeth's mind in deterring her from marrying Leicester, prompted the offended favourite to join the league of these great peers for the support of the captive heiress of the Crown, in the hope of effecting the fall of the minister by whose advice she had been so hardly used.

The ungenerous policy that had been adopted towards Mary had, indeed, offended not only persons of her own religion, but excited the ill-concealed indignation of all just and independent gentlemen, to whatsoever denomination of the Christian church they belonged; sympathy for the desolate and oppressed being not only the genuine characteristic of Englishmen, but especially enjoined by the Anglican Church. The loveliest, the most intellectual and liberal-minded Princess in the world, as well as the most clement, after suffering unprecedented injuries and indignities from the ungrateful traitors whom she had pardoned, recalled from exile, and restored to their estates, had, when compelled to seek refuge from their insatiate malice in England, while at peace with her sister sovereign, been, in defiance of equity and the law of nations, constituted a prisoner, and the calumnies of her enemies adopted as a pretext for denying her a friendly reception and assistance. Her base-born brother had been supported in his usurpation and injurious treatment of her loyal subjects, while she was insulted and dragged from one place of incarceration to another, prevented from receiving letters from her friends, alternately browbeaten and intimidated by her keepers, and plied with deceitful profes-

[1] Camden. Lesley's Negotiations. Murdin.

sions of friendship and assistance from their royal mistress, for the purpose of inducing her to ratify her compulsory abdication, and resign her title to the English succession. The fact was notorious to the lords of Elizabeth's Council, as well as those who had assisted at the Conferences at Westminster, that the Earl of Moray had been encouraged to accuse his captive sister and Sovereign of adultery, husband-murder, and intended infanticide—of which horrible crimes he was unable to produce the testimony of a single witness; that he had been treated with all possible marks of honour, and sent away with a present of £5000, while she was denied the privilege of appearing in her own defence, her Commissioners arrested without any reason being assigned for such a violation of their passports, and herself dragged by absolute violence from Bolton Castle to the damp comfortless fortress of Tutbury, regardless of her bodily indisposition, the inclemency of the weather, and the unfitness of the roads for travelling at that season of the year. That any unfortunate foreign Princess should have been subjected to such treatment would have been regarded as a national disgrace; but when it was remembered that she who had been thus inhospitably handled was the rightful representative of Alfred by the elder line, and the only descendant of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York whose legitimacy was unimpugnable, and in right of that descent the heiress-presumptive to the crown, it amounted to a serious misdemeanour on the part of the minister by whose advice she had been misused. Such proceedings would have been made, had they occurred a century later, matter of serious parliamentary investigation. But as the House of Commons was then almost wholly subservient to the will of the Crown, a confederacy of the great nobles took the law into their own hands, and, in the hope of averting the evils of a contested succession, securing the ultimate consolidation of the Britannic empire under one head, and at the same time providing for the safety of the reformed Church, agreed to settle the succession of the realm on the rightful heiress, Mary Stuart, on condition of her consenting to accept an English nobleman of the reformed faith for her consort, and pledging herself to the following articles:—

"To give sufficient surety to the Queen of England, and the heirs of her body, for the title of the crown of England.

"That a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, be made between them and their heirs.

"That the religion (meaning according to the tenets of the reformed Church of England) be established in Scotland.

"That her subjects in Scotland be reconciled to her, and accepted in as great favour as ever they were.

"That a renunciation be procured by the Queen of Scots of a title that the Duke of Anjou pretended to the Crown of England, by virtue of assignation made to him by the Queen of Scots, in hope of a marriage to be contracted between them.

"And lastly, because it was feared that the Queen of Scotland would marry with some foreign prince, whereby the religion might be altered, and the state of both realms endangered: that, therefore, the Queen of Scotland should accept some nobleman of England in marriage, specially the Duke of Norfolk, who is of the first of the nobility of that realm, and of all others the most fit, and they doubted not the Queen of England would like well of the match with him above all others."[1]

These articles being presented to Lesley, Bishop of Ross, by the associate English nobles, he prudently replied that "some of the heads there introduced were very weighty, and that as he had no commission from the Queen his mistress to enter into such a treaty, he requested the English nobles and Privy Councillors who communicated with him on the subject to send them to her by some special messenger of their own;" adding, "that in the mean time he would advertise her thereof, and doubted not but she would give them very reasonable answers."

"And so, according to this advice," says Lesley, "these noblemen sent a gentleman called Mr Candish (Cavendish) to the Queen my mistress with the said articles, and certain honourable and costly tokens, and wrote very loving and affectionate letters to her, specially in praise and commendation of the Duke of Norfolk, persuading her very

[1] Lesley's Negotiations, p. 50-51; Camden; Labanoff.

earnestly to like well of the marriage; and in case she did agree thereto, assured her of the goodwill of the whole nobility in all her honourable affairs, specially for the succession of the crown of England, failing the Queen of England and the heirs of her body. Also, that they doubted not but the Queen of England would be persuaded to like well thereof—in respect the nobility and Council thought it most fit for the weal and quietness of both the realms—that besides all other commodities and benefits that were to come thereby, she, the Queen of Scotland, should presently be restored to her own crown, and made sure in reversion of the succession of the realm of England; whereas, if, on the contrary, she should match with any foreign prince, she should hardly recover her own realm of Scotland, and would never be able to attain to the crown of England, in respect their nation is so impatient of being subject to strangers.

"The tenor of this letter," continues Lesley, "is patent to be seen, containing a very long discourse to the effect aforesaid, which is all written with the Earl of Leicester's own hand, and subscribed by him and others of the nobility."[1]

The fact that this letter was written to Mary by Leicester, in the names and on the behalf of the other great nobles, with the above offers, is sufficiently authenticated by the confessions of the Earl of Pembroke and other members of the confederacy. These articles, presents, and letters being received by Queen Mary, she despatched Lord Boyd to London with her answer, which was delivered by him and Lesley to the noble junta that had taken her cause in hand, and was to this effect: "That in respect to the proposals made to her by the Council, she agreed to give security for the Queen of England's title. As to the league with England, she would advertise the King of France, and do her best to have it so arranged as to include him therein; for otherwise her nobility of Scotland would hardly be persuaded to agree to it; and farther, she would procure the desired renunciation from the Duke of Anjou of the alleged title, though she had never made any such transfer

[1] Lesley's Negotiations—Anderson, *52, 53.* Camden. Tytler.

in his favour, as she affirmed upon her princely word and honour. As for the establishment of the religion, she had already satisfied her subjects in Scotland by acts and statutes made in Parliament for that purpose; and if anything further were required by her nobility, she would do the same, by the advice of her Estates, to their contentment, at her returning.

In regard to the desire they had expressed that she would agree to marry the Duke of Norfolk, she answered, "that she had been so sorely vexed by her marriages in times past, that she was loth to think of such matters, being rather of mind to live a solitary life for the rest of her days; yet, nevertheless, all other things being agreed and concluded to her reasonable satisfaction, she was content to comply with the advice of the nobility of England in favour of her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, whom she liked the better because he was well reported of, and beloved by the nobility and Estates of his own country; and she desired them to endeavour to learn the Queen of England's pleasure on the subject; for unless her Majesty were well disposed to it, she feared the Duke of Norfolk might fare the worse for such expressions of goodwill and favour unto him as she might give utterance unto, in consequence of the recommendation of the other nobles his friends, and her other causes be endamaged thereby; also, as she had had over sad experience in her marriage with the Lord Darnley, to her great grief."[1]

The confederate nobles assured her "that no difficulty need be apprehended, as Elizabeth's great fear was lest she should enter into either a French, a Spanish, or an Austrian marriage; and that, through Leicester's influence with his royal mistress, everything might in time be accomplished." Mary then gave her promise "that, as soon as her marriage with the Earl of Bothwell could be lawfully dissolved, she would become the consort of the Duke of Norfolk."[2] She took prompt measures for removing the

[1] Lesley's Negotiations. Camden's Annals. Howard Mem. [2] Ibid.

obstacle to their union, by soliciting the Pope to release her from the abhorrent wedlock she had been compelled to contract with the Earl of Bothwell against her will.[1] She despatched also a messenger into Denmark, who succeeded in inducing Bothwell to sign and execute an instrument consenting to the dissolution of their illegal and most disastrous marriage.[2]

Her brother-in-law the King, and all the royal family of France, together with her uncle the Cardinal de Lorraine, and her grandmother the Duchess-Dowager de Guise, signified their approbation of her intended union with the Duke of Norfolk; even the King of Spain, though he continued to recommend his brother Don John of Austria, feigned acquiescence, while, however, he did his utmost secretly to traverse it. A contract of marriage was executed by Norfolk, and sent to Mary for her signature, by Lord Boyd, together with a costly diamond, as a pledge of his faith. Mary signed the contract, and accepted the jewel, which she suspended about her neck, and wore constantly in her bosom from that day till the evening before her execution. The contract was consigned, for greater security, to the keeping of La Mothe Fénélon, the French Ambassador.[3] After this solemn plight, "the Duke entered into farther familiarity and entertainment of favour," says Lesley, "by sending of letters and tokens to the Queen my mistress, and receiving the like, and giving to me his counsel and advice in all my proceedings at Court, which I was commanded expressly by the Queen my mistress to follow."[4] Mary, in fact, considered Norfolk as

[1] "Cura diligenter Sanctissimus Pater aperte declaret illud prætensum matrimonium, quod inter me et Bothuellum nullo jure sed simulata ratione sanctiebatur, nullus," &c. &c. Instructions given by Mary Stuart to the Bishop of Ross, designed to go to Pope Pius V. Labanoff, vol. iii. p. 59. See also ibid., pp. 231, 232.

[2] Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary, octavo edition, vol. ii. p. 7. The document signifying Bothwell's consent to the divorce remained among Lord Boyd's papers even to the present times.—Marginal Note, ibid., Memoir of Bothwell.

[3] Despatches of La Mothe Fénélon. Memorials of the Howard Family, by the late Mr Howard of Corby.

[4] Lesley's Negotiations—Anderson.

her husband, and rendered him the love and obedience of a wife.

The following is a specimen of the affectionate and confidential style in which she corresponded with him after they were contracted to each other:—

"*Sunday.*—I received a writing by Borthwick from you, whereby I perceive the satisfaction you have of my plain dealing with you, as I must do of my duty. Considering how much I am beholden to you many ways, I am glad the grant of my goodwill is so agreeable to you. Albeit I know myself to be unworthy to be so well liked of one of such wisdom and good qualities, yet do I think my hap great in that, yea, much greater than my desert. Therefore I will be about to use myself so that, so far as God shall give me grace, you shall never have cause to diminish your good conceit and favour of me, while I shall esteem and respect you in all my doings as long as I live. Now, good my Lord, more words to this purpose would be unseemly to my present condition, and *importunable* to you amidst so many business; but this trust you, as written by one who means unfeignedly. This day I received a letter from you by this bearer, whereby I perceive the thought you take of my health, which, thanks to God, is much better than it was at his departing; but not yet very strong, nor quit of the soreness of my side. It causes me to be more heavy and pensive than I would need to be, considering the care you have of me, whereof I will not thank you, for I have remitted all my cause to you to do as for yourself. I write to the Bishop of Ross what I hear from the Duke of Alva, Governor of the Netherlands. Now, my Norfolk, you bid me command you; that would be beside my duty many ways. But pray you, I will that you counsel me not to take patiently my great griefs, except you promise me to trouble you no more for the death of your ward. . . . . I wish you had another in his room to make you merry. You forbid me to write; be sure I will think it no pains, whenever my health will permit it, but pleasure; as also to receive

your letters, which I pray you to spare not when you have leisure, without troubling you, for they shall fall in no hands where they will be better received. The physicians write at length; they seem to love you marvellously, and not mislike of me. We had but general talk, and some of your matters, but not in anybody's name; therefore I answered nothing, but giving ear soberly. When Borthwick goeth up you shall understand all; in this it is unintelligible. Meantime I must warn you when I hear anything touching you.

"Argyll sends me word express, 'that when he met at Stirling with Moray (the Regent of Scotland), he assured him I should never come home, and that he had intelligence to be quit of me.' Remember him of his promises. Borthwick will write it to the Bishop of Ross and my Lord Fleming. Argyll 'prayed me, if you were my friend, to advertise you hastily.' Take of this what pleases you, but I am sure they will be traitors to you and me; and if they were in Turkey you and I were never the worse: albeit I will not importune. But an this summer past, I hope for good all the year.

"God preserve you from all traitors, and make your friends as true and constant.

"From Wingfield, late at night this 24th." [1]

This, like all Mary's letters to Norfolk, was written in cipher. How different the style and sentiment of her genuine love-letters are from the absurd follies her enemies accused her of writing to Bothwell, it is scarcely necessary to observe.

[1] Harleian MSS., British Museum.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

(P. 86–90.)

THE BATTLE OF LANGSIDE.

I HAVE been favoured with the following observations from my friend Sir John Maxwell of Polloc, Bart., the worthy representative of Queen Mary's last knight-banneret, and the present proprietor of the ground enriched by the blood of so many of the loyal gentlemen of Scotland who fell that day in her cause.

Sir John Maxwell's accurate knowledge of the locality, and of the hands in which the lands then were, renders his remarks peculiarly valuable, and it is to be regretted they were not communicated in time to be incorporated in the passage to which they refer.

"As the Queen writes to Queen Elizabeth that her nobles were between Regent Moray and herself, and on the north of Langside heights and village had attacked Moray's troops, which were advancing to intercept her Majesty's progress to Dumbarton, she probably had passed from Cathcart to the ford of the river Cart near to Crossmyloof. That hamlet was nearly, if not entirely, surrounded by the estate of Maxwell of Polloc, whom she had recently knighted, and who was then fighting for her at Langside, and it stood on the upper side of a morass which separated the heights and village of Langside from the hill of Hagbows, where the Prince her son was placed. Lord Herries, himself a Maxwell and a relation of that knight, kept the river Cart between her and the lands of Darnley, which were then the property of the Earl of Lennox, and which lands *marched* [were bounded] with those of Polloc on the south side of the river Cart. The road towards Renfrew (where she probably intended to embark), after leaving Crossmyloof and the lands of Polloc, traversed the property of Stuart of Cardonald, a cousin of the knight of Polloc, who was attached like him to the Queen. Her

Majesty having passed some time at Glasgow herself, knew perhaps the nearest and safest way to Dumbarton, avoiding the Castle of Crocston, the residence of Lennox in that part of Renfrewshire. The tenants of Maxwell were fined as well as himself, which implies that Mary could trust herself on their land."

No. II.

Among the curious inedited holograph letters recently discovered in the charter-room of the Earl of Moray at Donibristle House, and courteously communicated to me by his Lordship's brother, the Hon. John Stuart, is the following letter addressed by Mary to her supposed friend the Commendator of St Colme's Inch, in a mixed dialect of English, Scotch, and French, which being a perfectly original document, must be submitted to the reader in her veritable orthography :—

" Gud frind,—I mervel miekle ze vreit ne meer to auld frinds for the vol nocht forguet zou. Is for neues, I dar nocht vreit les I hewe a sipher ; therfor send mi en. I am in gud hop ther is an imbassadeur to com out off France schortli for me. I refer al tydens to the birar, bot pres zou to vreit al neus to mi. Quen I woust thes birar fand zou himself I vuald vreit farder. My Lord Flimin vol schaw zow all neus. I prey zou vreit off zours to mi, and bi nocht so langsum for thes furth. Commend mi to zour wiff, and solisit her bruder to be constant ; I dout it nocht, nor off zourself. I prey zou comend mi to zour bruder that merid zour seister, and desyr hum to com to mi for I vol brentt (or hev tt) adir or a du for hum. Efter zour nixt advertizement I schall vreit furadar. Zour auld frind, and so schal bi to the end.—From Boton, the xxiii off Juli."

Addressed,—" To my gud frind St Colme."

(*Holograph without Signature.*)

For the benefit of those readers to whom the above will be almost as unintelligible as if written in Welsh, a modernised version of the same is subjoined :—

" Good friend,—I marvel *meikle* [much] ye write no more to old friends, for they would not forget you. As for news, I dare not write them till I have a cipher ; therefore send me one. I am in good hope there is an ambassador to come out of France

shortly for me. I refer all tidings to the bearer, but pray you to write all news to me. When I wist this bearer found you himself, I will write further. My Lord Fleming will show you all news. I pray you write of yours to me, and be not so longsome for the future. Commend me to your wife, and solicit her brother to be constant; I doubt it not, nor of yourself. I pray you to commend me to your brother that married your sister, and desire him to come to me, for I *wol* have it ordered or done for him. After your next advertisement I shall write further.

"Your old friend, and so shall be to the end.—From Bolton the xxiii of July."

Addressed,—"To my good friend St Colme."

No. III.

The strongest testimonial in Mary's favour will be found in the Instructions for her defence which the loyal nobles, both of her own faith and the reformed religion—independent and surely competent witnesses of her conduct, both as Queen and woman—united in addressing to her Commissioners preparatory to the Conference at York. The obsolete Scotch dialect and orthography having hitherto rendered this important document unintelligible to any other class of readers than historical antiquaries, we have considered it expedient to present it in a more comprehensible form. Those who desire to study it in the North British orthography and idiom, are referred to Goodall's Appendix, No. cxxxix. p. 354, printed from the original in the Cotton. MSS., British Museum.

"Sept. 12, 1568.[1]

"Instructions and articles to be advised upon and agreed, so far as the Queen's Majesty our Sovereign shall think expedient, at the meeting of the Lords in England, committed in credit by the noblemen, earls, lords, &c., her Grace's true, faithful subjects of the realm of Scotland:

"To noble, wise, and expert men, reverend father in God, John Bishop of Ross, Robert Lord Boyd, William Lord Livingstone, John Lord Herries, John Gordon of Lochinvar, Knight, Commissioners elect and chosen thereto:

[1] Goodall's Appendix, No. 139, vol. ii. p. 354.

"First, To declare that the noblemen of this realm, true and faithful subjects to their Sovereign, lament highly the pretence of certain particular persons within the same, who, being only moved with ambition and unquiet spirits, have, contrary [to] all reason, laws, and good order, usurped the authority, imprisoned our Sovereign, and done that thing that lies in them that her Grace's authority and power to reign should cease within this realm, to the evil example of all other *princes* [potentates.] And yet they who have enterprised the same are not in number the sixth part of the nobility, nor of the people, of the realm. And there are six or seven earls who have voted in Parliament before any of them who have usurped this place.[1] Although with sic treasonable and deceitful means they have obtained the *strengths* [fortified places] of the country by great booties and reward, given to traitors keepers thereof to deceive their native princess and mistress, and render her Grace's strengths and jewels into their hands, which has been the occasion that the people adjacent thereabout was made obedient in a manner to them, and in special the burghs. So the prince [Queen] being holden in captivity in strait prison in Lochlevin, which could not *be won* [taken by storm] in respect of the strength and situation thereof, and also that they had the whole ammunition put in their hands by sic booty and treasonable deceit as is known. And in case the noblemen favourers of her Majesty had raised an army to that effect, it was menaced and boasted 'that they should send her head to them.' Likewise her death was ofttimes pronounced, concluded and subscribed by a great part of her *takers* [captors]. And for safety of her life, her Majesty's *favourers* [partisans] ceased to put themselves in armour against them, and contained the country in some quietness, yet not without great grief of conscience, till God, of his special providence, relieved her Grace out of such strait prison.

"Instantly after her relief all the most part of the noblemen and whole people resorted to her Grace, and so many as were upon so short notice convened with free heart adventured and wearied themselves in her Grace's quarrel, while it chanced her by battle to be invaded by the said usurpers, who stopped her passage to Dumbarton, where her Majesty was bound for safety of her life *allanerly* till the time that whole force of her Grace's favourers

[1] Meaning that those earls, by reason of superior rank, had precedence of voting before Moray, Morton, and others of the faction, against the Queen.

might have been convened, wherefore her Majesty was constrained to seek for relief at the Queen of England's hands: And therefore all her Grace's true and faithful subjects of this realm desire effectually the Queen's Majesty of England to have regard unto her Grace's cause and proceedings thereof, and that of her princely power she would restore our Sovereign in her own realm with her support[1] . . . . . and likewise it will procure the hearty love of all true Scottishmen, otherwise it may be prejudicial to the Queen of England and all princes to suffer such inconveniences to come in practice. And also to require all *strengths* [fortified places] to be rendered to our Queen's Majesty and owners thereof, with all jewels, ammunitions, reapparelling thereof, and free delivering of the noblemen who are holden and detained in captivity by the Earl of Moray, and his complices, to be discharged, and goods and gear restored which *has* been taken from them, and that they desist from usurping of all authority for the time to come, and security to be made thereupon.

"It is to be diligently advised, in case our Sovereign be advised to submit to the judgment of the Queen of England, and to have the difference between her Grace and her subjects tried, admitting the Queen of England as judge—it is to be reasoned with our Sovereign, 'That the same appeareth to be very hurtful and prejudicial to her, because her Grace, being a free prince having imperial crown, therefore is subject to no other prince on earth, nor cannot be judged by them; and therefore, by order of trial and judgment, her Grace's cause is not to be submitted in that manner. Yet nevertheless, in respect of her honest, just, and righteous cause, and of her good and clean conscience on all proceedings, we are assured she will not refuse, in presence of great princes, to declare her honourable part in all these causes invented calumniously against her Grace, providing alway they be not admitted judges against her. Not for fear of any decree, may be given against her, but only of the prejudice may be engendered to all other princes in time coming through such practice, if it come in use. But in case it be our Sovereign's pleasure to have the cause reasoned in presence of the Queen of England, or any of her Grace's Commissioners appointed thereto, ye shall use these reasons, answers, and defences, to be reformed, *eikit* [added to], or changed, always by our Sovereign's advice as follows.'

"If the subjects who are usurpers of our Sovereign's authority will allege and object, for colour and defence of their wicked

[1] Here occurs some repetition of preceding sentences.

and unjust proceedings, that their enterprise was upon the just deserving of our Sovereign, by reason of the suspicion had against her for alleged consent to the murder of her husband, ye shall answer and declare, 'That they can pretend no colour of defence by that way to their proceedings, because the whole progress of their *usage* [conduct] in times past continually, since the Queen's arrival in Scotland, has declared the effect of their meaning, which principally was grounded on two causes—the one for the forthsetting of the religion, and the other for the punishment of the murder of the King—although it is evident the same has not been their principal intention, but rather to aspire to the highest place and government of the realm. *For it is most sure that our Sovereign has never meant any alteration of the religion which her Grace found standing at her first arriving, but has appointed the ministers' stipends when they had none before.*[1] And farther, the Queen's Majesty, by advice of the three Estates of her realm, satisfied the desire of the whole nobility concerning all the points of the religion by an Act of Parliament holden at Edinburgh the 15th of April 1567.'

"And as to answer the other part, it is to be diligently and advisedly remembered and considered how, shortly after our Sovereign's home-coming from the realm of France into Scotland, the Earl of Moray having *respect* then (and as it appears yet, by his proceedings, to place himself in the government of this realm, and to usurp this kingdom), by his counsel caused the Queen's Majesty become so subject to him as if she had been a pupil, in such sort that her subjects had not access to her to *propone* their own causes, or to receive answer thereof, but by him only, so that he was only recognised as prince, and her Majesty but a shadow. And who[ever] pressed to find fault with his abuses, he did pursue them with such cruelty that some of the principal men he caused [be] put to death, destroying their *bairns* [children], houses, and memories, and caused others to be banished the realm, and put other noblemen in prison and detained them there.[2] And having the principals thus ejected of their places, he proposed to the Queen's Majesty to have the Crown *tailzeit* [entailed], and himself to have the first place, which she plainly refused, alleging 'she would not defraud the

[1] The time when Mary did this good deed has been noted in a preceding volume. The grateful remembrance of it here proceeds, it may be supposed, from the Protestant subscribers of this manifesto.

[2] In allusion to the victims of the Gordon tragedy.

righteous [rightful] heirs, and also feared the wrecking of herself, and *secluding* [excluding] of her succession, in the respect the desirer of the said entail would never consent any way that her Majesty should marry any such prince as made suit to her;' therefore colouring the same upon alleging of many inconveniences that might follow upon the marriage of great princes, which her Majesty partly considered to be truth, and so by the common inclination of all princesses and other women (which rather desires to ascend than descend), for retaining the realm at liberty, and to be thralled to no others, was content to deign to accept the Lord Darnley to her husband, thinking therethrough to obtain the greatest favour of all them of that surname [of Stuart]. But the contrary is known, and what impediment was made thereto by the said desirer of the said entail [of the Crown, meaning Moray], who by himself and his assisters conspired the slaughter of the said Lord Darnley, being then appointed to marry with her Majesty, and also of his father, Matthew, Earl of Lennox, and divers other noblemen, being her company and followers at that time, and so to have imprisoned herself in Lochleven and detained her there all the days of her life, and he [Moray] to have usurped the government; which conspiracy was near put to execution in the month of June 1565, at the Kirk of Beith, as many who were in counsel with him and drawn ignorantly thereon can testify.[1] And he, seeing the same revealed, drew sundry to his opinion under colour of religion, who were banished with him, and took refuge in England.

"And thereafter, he perceiving that they could not stay the marriage, and also that it pleased God that her Grace was able to have succession, and so being great with child, they contrived the slaughter of her Majesty's secretary in her presence, and cruelly performed the same, and held her most noble person in prison, intending by that way the death of her Majesty through high displeasure, *secluding* [excluding] her succession, and also her said husband, by reason he was seduced to consent thereto. But then, seeing that her Grace, by the pleasure of God, did escape their hands,[2] and relieve herself of prison, wherethrough the doers thereof were banished for their enterprise. Also hearing of the young behaviour, through foolish counsel, of her said

[1] Two of them, Argyll and Rothes, who were leagued with Moray in this earlier attempt on the life of Darnley and the freedom of Mary, are subscribers to this manifesto.

[2] Her escape with Darnley from Holyrood to Dunbar, aided by Arthur Erskine, Bastian, and Margaret Cawood, as told in Volume iv.

husband, they caused make offers to our said sovereign Lady, 'if her Grace would give remission to them that were banished at that time, to find cause of divorce, either for consanguinity,' in respect they alleged 'the dispensation was not published, or else for adultery [of Darnley], or to get him convict of treason because he consented to her retention in *ward* [imprisonment], or other ways to despatch him, which altogether her Grace refused, as is manifestly known. So that it may be clearly considered, and is sufficient presumption in these respects, her Grace having the *commodity* [convenience] to find the means to be separate, and yet would not consent thereto, that her Grace would never have consented to his murder, having such other likely means to have been quit of him by the Lords' own device [Moray and his coadjutors]; but that it may be inferred that they were the doers thereof, only as was *deponed* [deposed] by them who suffered death therefor, who declared at all times the Queen our Sovereign to be innocent thereof.

"And where they allege 'her Grace is found guilty thereof by Act of Parliament holden by them,' There was nothing done in their Parliament that could prejudice the Queen's honour in any sort, her Grace never being called or accused. For what was done, was not to declare her guilty of any crime, which of reason no ways could be done, *contraire her Majesty uncallit*, but only an Act made for safety of themselves from forfeiture, who treasonably put hands on her Majesty's noble person and imprisoning her: allanerly, founding their proceedings upon just meaning as they alleged—which sundry noblemen that was her *favourers bear withal* [put up with] principally for safety of her life, which, ere their coming to Parliament, was concluded and subscribed by a great part of her *takers* [captors], to be taken from her in most cruel manner, as is *notourly* [notoriously] known—although sundry of the noblemen, partakers with themselves, refused to subscribe the same, or consent to her death in any wise. And in case any such Act of Parliament had been made, the same cannot prejudice her Majesty in any sort, in respect they had no lawful power to hold Parliament,—and also, it is against all laws and reason to condemn any creature alive until they be first called to use their lawful defence, or at least presented in judgment and heard. Surely it is against all laws and reason, and also it was never seen in practice, that ever the subjects were judges of the Prince, 'but should always obey them, albeit they be wicked,' as the Scriptures declare. And it is truth,

as they cannot deny, that her Majesty, immediately after her taking, divers times 'was content to admit the whole nobility and Three Estates of the realm her judges—she being heard to declare her own part in their presence'—which altogether was refused. So every man may perceive their whole suit is according to their first pretence, to *seclude* [exclude] her Grace and her succession of body, and also them of line, as the *using* [usage] of my Lord Duke of Châtelherault and his friends *instantly* [at this present time] declare.

"And if it be alleged that her Majesty's writing produced in Parliament should prove her culpable, it may be answered, That there is in no place mention made in it by the which she may be convict, albeit, it were her own handwriting—*which it is not*;—and also the same is devised by themselves in some principal and substantial clauses. And such alleged privy writings can make no probation in criminal causes, which will be clearer *nor* [than] the light of the day; and so by the said writing nothing can be inferred against her Majesty.

"And in case it be alleged that the marrying of the Earl of Bothwell is one great suspicion of her knowledge, it is answered that before ever that marriage was laid to her charge, the most part of the nobility, and principally the usurpers, such as the Earl Morton, Lord Sempill, Lord Lindsay, and James Balfour, gave their consent to the Earl Bothwell. And to remove all suspicions wherethrough *he might be able thereto* [meaning, to which he might be liable], they declared him innocent of that crime by a public assize, and cleansed him by an enrolment thereof, and the same was ratified again in Parliament by consent of the Three Estates, and so the same can infer no presumption against her Majesty.

"And further, in testification of her innocency, and that her conscience does persuade herself to abide all trial, she has rendered her most noble person within the realm of England, where *his* [Darnley's] *father, mother, and principal friends make residence*, having special *commodity* [convenience] to sue trial thereof, which, if her Grace *had known herself guilty, she would not, of her own free motion, have come therein.* Yet nevertheless, her Grace, being a free princess, is not subject to the judgment of any other *prince* [potentate].

"And further, it is of truth that her adversaries, usurpers of her authority, offered remission to several that are convict of that crime by them, if they would say that her Grace was guilty

thereof. But [they] offered to prove the seducers culpable thereof in whatsomever manner they please.

"Item, if it be *proponed* [propounded] that our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty has renounced her crown, and that the same was ratified in Parliament, to that may be answered, The date and place thereof declare the same to be void, her Grace being in prison, and so by law being of none avail, albeit she had not been compelled, as she was indeed, as was declared and verified by Robert Melvill, the time of her being in Hamilton, after she was escaped out of ward, who affirmed solemnly, 'that he came to the Queen's Majesty to Lochleven immediately before the said alleged *demission* [abdication], sent direct forth of Edinburgh from the Earl of Atholl, the Secretary, and others partakers in that cause, and advised her Grace 'that it would be *laid to her charge* [required of her] to renounce the crown, and if she did not the same, she would be put shortly to death; therefore their counsel was, expressly to obey their desire for her safety.' And so her Majesty had just cause of fear, for they affirmed, 'the same could do no hurt to her right afterwards.' And so, as soon as she was relieved, her Majesty revoked the same in presence of her nobility, and *maid saith* [affirmed] 'she was compelled thereto [to abdicate] upon fear of her life.'

"And as to the ratification of the same in Parliament, the same proceeded on wrongest ground, which was compulsion of our Sovereign to renounce the same, to be ratified; and several of the principal noblemen, such as the Earls of Huntley, Argyll, and Lord Herries in special, at that time *took instruments* [meaning, entered protests], 'that they consented not to that abdication, but in so far as it stood with her Majesty's free will; and if her Majesty would *abide* [concur in] the same afterward, and not otherwise; and in case thereafter it were found that she was compelled, or did the same upon just fear, that they should be free of their consent, as [if] the same had never been given, and all that followed thereupon to be null.'

"Albeit her free consent was affirmed by several then present, with many solemn oaths by some lords, and instruments of notaries declaring the same, *suppois* [although] the contrary be of *verity*, which shall be verified by *instruments taken in their parliament* [protests entered in the same Parliament] or by *singular battel*[1] [single combat], as they please.

[1] The appeal to battle was, at that period, one of the most solemn laws of the whole island. Lord Herries, in the midst of inimical England, at

"And *attour* [moreover] this *renunciation* [abdication] was but privately given, and also privately admitted, by a few number of them only who put hands on her Majesty, and not in any parliament; and also the King was crowned by the same number and their Regent in their manner admitted, and so all that followed can have no place.

"Item, In case certain articles be *proponit* [propounded, or proposed] to be reasoned and condescended unto between our Sovereign and the realm of England, it is thought good by the nobility of this realm, that are true and faithful subjects to their Sovereign the Queen's Majesty [Mary Stuart], to *condescend* [agree] unto all that may stand to the honour and glory of God, maintaining of tranquillity, peace, unity, and mutual concord between the two realms and the commonweals thereof, provided the Queen's Majesty, our Sovereign, be restored and *reponit* [replaced] freely in her own realm with all reverence, and to her princely honour and government of the same, in such ways that the laws thereof be observed and kept, the liberty thereof maintained, and our ancient friendship and amity with our old friends and confederates inviolate.

"And, further, ye shall *condescend* [agree] so far as our Sovereign shall think fit for the present.

"Item, In case it be desired towards the government of the realm, that the Queen's Majesty our Sovereign, by the advice of her Council of the nobility, it is thought good and reasonable that she shall do the same; that she shall choose her Council of the wisest and most expert of the nobility of the realm, like as her predecessors have done at all times past, and to do all things concerning the government of the realm and the weal thereof by their advice; otherwise, if her Majesty were constrained to use the counsel only of such as certain of her subjects choose for her, the same should make her to be in perpetual thraldom to them, which is not only prejudicial to her, but to all *princes* [potentates], and contrary to all customs and laws of the realm of Scotland.

Hampton Court, the scene of many a real romance of history, challenged Lindsay and all other of Mary's calumniators to meet him in single combat, to prove that his Sovereign Lady was falsely accused, and that her defamers did the deed whereof they accused her. This incident has been mentioned in the course of the volume, but not the fact which is recorded in this extraordinary document, that the same challenge had been offered in the Scottish Parliament convened by Moray, and, as at Hampton Court, no one accepted Herries' cartel.

Always what her Grace thinks [good] to be done thereunto by your advice, we shall think good.

"Item, As to religion, although the matter be weighty in itself to constrain men's conscience, yet, after reasoning heard thereuntil, what be thought good by our Sovereign and *you* [Mary's Commissioners at York] we will *condescend* [agree] thereunto.[1]

"Item, As to the ancient league with France, it has stood long among us, and apparently it cannot agree with the honour of the realm to break the same. Yet so far as may stand with our honours and the weal of this realm, we are content to retain friendship with England, and to contract thereupon as our Sovereign sal think good; and also to receive no *strangers* [foreign forces], to the prejudice of the realm of England, within our realm in any sort.

"Item, As to our Sovereign's title to England, we understand our Sovereign the Queen's Majesty bore ever that love and favour towards her sister the Queen of England, that suppose it had stood in her power to have molested her in her time, yet [she] would not do the same, nor intends (as we understand) to do in time coming.

"And now, seeing the Queen of England is so beneficial to our Sovereign, she thinks her Grace much more indebted than before, and therefore, it being our Mistress' pleasure and will, finds that part good to be *condescended* [agreed] unto for the weal of both realms; and that all occasion of trouble be removed, or suspicion in time coming, that our Sovereign shall not molest the Queen of England, nor her lawful succession of her body, without prejudice of our Sovereign's title thereafter. In like manner, the Queen's Grace of England shall do nothing in her time that may be prejudicial to our Sovereign's title after the Queen of England's decease, and to require if it be her pleasure to declare for that favour to our Sovereign in her own time, when it shall please her to be moved thereto.

"Item, As to punishing the Queen's husband's murderers, the same to be execute upon the persons who has justly deserved the same, as law and reason will permit.

"Item, Whatsoever be *condescended unto* the Lords [subscribers of this document] promise to ratify and approve the same, and shall consent thereto in the first Parliament that is holden by our Sove-

[1] It is worth noting, in this remarkable clause, that the Roman Catholic subscribers, as well as the Protestant ones, invite Mary and her chosen council to govern the Church in Scotland.

reign Lady within the realm of Scotland, and upon their lives and honours shall set forward the same in time coming, and if further be required to *condescend* [agree] thereto as the Queen's Majesty, our Sovereign, by your advice, shall think good.

"Item, Ye shall not fail, at your first reasoning, to expound and declare highly the proceedings in this last their pretended parliament, to the forfeiting of sundry noblemen; and also that they daily continue *putting at* [persecuting] the Queen's true *favourers*, by charge of their houses, '*lifting*' of pains for absence, and troubling them other ways, notwithstanding that we have desisted at our Sovereign's desire, at the Queen of England's request; and, therefore, to require the Queen of England, according to her promise, that hasty order be put thereto that her Grace's request be esteemed more weighty in time coming than it has seemed at this time, and therefore has just cause to employ forces for *restitution* [restoration] of our Sovereign in her *own realm*, which ye shall most earnestly require before all other things.

"Item, To remember, among other informations, that the principal cause first set forth by the usurpers, wherefore they put first in arms, was 'to put the Queen's most noble person to liberty forth of the Earl of Bothwell's hands, and to punish him for the violent taking and ravishing her'—and likewise punishing him [Bothwell] for her husband's slaughter, and yet has proceeded further, as is notoriously known, to the usurping of her authority.

"These are the principal heads and articles which we presently have in heed for the weal of our Sovereign's service and the advancement of her affairs, to be "*sichtit*," concluded, and set forward by the Queen's Majesty, or *reasoned* [debated] at her pleasure by the advice of the Commissioners aforesaid.

"Subscribed with our hands at Dumbarton respective, the 12th of September 1568.

JOHN, Archbishop of St Andrews (Roman Catholic.)
EGLINTOUN.
FLEMING.
GLENLUSE.
SANQUHAR (Roman Catholic.)
ROSSE (Roman Catholic.)
ARGYLE (Protestant.)
CASSILIS (Protestant.)
MAXWELL (Protestant.)
LAURENCE, LORD OLIPHANT.
DAVID, LORD DRUMMOND.
HUNTLY (Roman Catholic.)
CRAWFURD (Protestant.)
ERROL.
JAMES, LORD OGILVY.
SOMERVILLE (Protestant.)
YESTER.

"My Lord Bishop of Ross, Lord Livingstone (Protestant,) Lord Boyd (Protestant), Lord Herries (Protestant), and Lord Kilwinning (Protestant), subscribed not these articles nor the Commission, because they were appointed Commissioners accepting the same.

"So ends the copies of the instructions and articles of the Queen's Majesty of Scotland, given for the Conference in England."

The paper is most remarkable for the unity of purpose between Mary's faithful friends, who were in about equal numbers professors of the rival religions; for the tone of deep respect to her character and person which pervades it; the ardent desire they have to see her again exercising her regal functions, and the careful application of every title assumed by regality, when speaking of the poor captive. Insomuch that the perspicuity of this well-written state paper is more impeded by the iteration of the epithets of "Sovereign Lady," "Majesty," "Grace," and "Highness," often occurring in the same sentence, and (as was the etiquette of the Tudor dynasty) all loaded on the same person—showing plainly that they considered their Sovereign no whit beneath the dignity of her more fortunate kinswoman Elizabeth, ill-treated and calumniated though she were.

END OF VOL. VI.

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